THE NABOBS IN ENGLAND

A STUDY OF THE RETURNED ANGLO-INDIAN, 1760-1785

HOLZMAN

Metropolitan Borough of St. Marylebone.

CENTRAL LENDING LIBRARY.

RULES AND REGULATIONS. A full copy of these is supplied gratis to borrowers on application.

HOURS. These are notified on Printed Notices at the Counter. (Rule 3).

TIME ALLOWED for reading this book 15 days including days of issue and return. A fine of ½d. per day or portion of a day if detained longer. (Rule 9).

RENEWALS. Any book (except a work of fiction) may be re-borrowed for a further period of 15 days unless required by another reader. (Rule 11).

CARE OF BOOKS. Books must be kept clean, protected from wet weather, and any damage reported on return. Books will not be entrusted to messengers considered unfit to take care of them. (Rule 10).

CHANGE OF ADDRESS of borrowers or their guarantors must be notified immediately. (Rule 14)

LOST TICKETS. To be notified as soon as possible. Borrowers are responsible for any books borrowed on their tickets. (Rule 15).

SATCHELS, BAGS AND UMBRELLAS must be left with attendant. (Rule 4.).

RESERVING OF BOOKS. This may be secured, except for works of fiction, by paying for a post-card notice. (Rule 13).

INFECTIOUS DISEASE. If infectious disease should break out in your house do not return this book, but inform the Librarian at once. Penalty for infringing this rule, or for knowingly permitting this book to be exposed to infection £5. (Rule 16).

DUNCAN GRAY, F.L.A.
BOROUGH LIBRARIAN.

10,000-3-27

23771

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

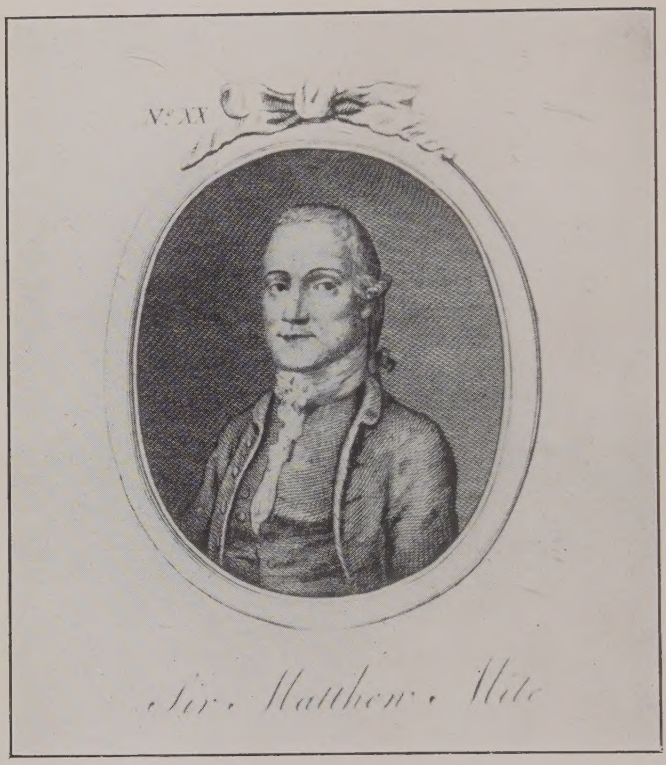
Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES
ST.



General Richard Smith
From the "Town and Country Magazine"

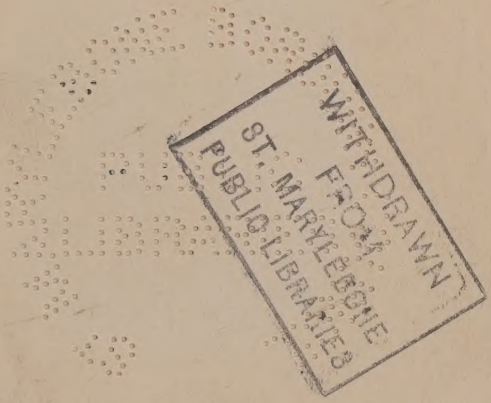
942.073:95

THE NABOBS IN ENGLAND

A STUDY OF THE RETURNED ANGLO-INDIAN, 1760-1785

BY

JAMES M. HOLZMAN, PH. D.



NEW YORK
1926

942.073

Copyright, 1926, by James M. Holzman

23471

TO THE MEMORY
OF
B. M. H.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 7

CHAPTER I. *The Nabobs in Society* 15

CHAPTER II. *Some Nabob Origins and Connections* 37

CHAPTER III. *The Nabobs in Politics* 49

CHAPTER IV. *The Nabobs at Home* 70

CHAPTER V. *Anglo-Indian Influences in Contemporary England* . . . 88

APPENDIX I. *Nabobs and their Connections in Parliament, 1761-1784* . 103

APPENDIX II. *A Partial Analysis of the Holders of East India Stock in 1773* 117

APPENDIX III. *Seats of Some Nabob Gentry* 123

SUPPLEMENT. *A Nabob Who's Who* 131

BIBLIOGRAPHY 169

INDEX 177

ILLUSTRATIONS

GENERAL RICHARD SMITH . . . . . *Frontispiece*

BASILDON PARK, C. 1794 . . . . . *Facing page* 72

MUNTHAM . . . . . *Facing page* 77

HALDON HOUSE . . . . . *Facing page* 80

PREFACE

As a group the Nabobs are remembered, but as living characters they have long been, with a single exception, more or less forgotten. Yet Clive was so important and so far from typical that he is properly the subject of separate biography. I have, therefore, chiefly confined myself to the treatment of a group of lesser known Nabobs, who have, for the most part, survived only as the victims of glib, and often erroneous, generalisation. Individually comparatively insignificant, they are, nevertheless, worthy of close study because most representative and shedding true light on their times.

The resuscitation of a class presents peculiar difficulties, in that too great concentration on separate individuals would spoil synthetic presentation, which itself requires the passing mention of names strange to the average reader. It is hoped that the appendices, particularly *A Nabob's Who's Who,* will strike a satisfactory compromise, and satisfy those who desire a more intimate view.

I take pleasure in acknowledging the aid which I have received on both sides of the Atlantic.

This book owes much to Professor Henry Dodwell of the University of London. The great bulk of the research was carried on under his preceptorial counsel, and he has also read most of the typescript. I cannot too emphatically express my appreciation at having had the benefit of his invaluable guidance.

I am likewise deeply indebted to Professors R. L. Schuyler and W. R. Shepherd of Columbia University for their painstaking reading of the typescript.

Sir William Foster, C.I.E., and Dr. F. W. Thomas, respectively Historiographer and Librarian of the India Office, courteously gave me access to the indispensable facilities of their departments. My visit to the Reading Public Library was greatly simplified by Miss Isabel Williams-Loam of the library staff, who conducted me through the extensive local collection relating to Berkshire.

JAMES M. HOLZMAN

New York,
October 9, 1925.

INTRODUCTION

How typically English an institution was the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies — founding an empire unintentionally, and almost unwillingly; gradually metamorphosed from a private mercantile concern to what was largely a governmental administrative agency; clinging throughout to its original counting house forms and nomenclature. But characteristically national as the Company may have been during life, it was not so in death. Cut off abruptly and forever in form and fact, there remain scarcely any mementoes of the days when the Court of Directors ruled India, and were accused of ruling England. The Honourable Company's house in Leadenhall Street is pulled down, the Honourable Company's ships have been long ago claimed by the sea or the shipbreaker, and the Honourable Company's worthies sleep as peacefully in the files of the India Office as ever they do in Indian cemetery or English country churchyard. Yet in the word which they raised up these last have a monument more enduring than oak or stone, and more eloquent of their consequence when alive.

For the first century and a half of the Company's history and more, nabob was simply an Anglicisation of nawab, "the title of certain Mohammedan officials, who acted as deputy governors of provinces or districts in the Mogul Empire". Thus the word is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary. According to the same authority, it means in its "transferred sense", "a person of great wealth; specifically, one who has returned from India with a large fortune acquired there; a very rich and luxurious person." The earliest instance of its use in this sense cited is Horace Walpole's mention in 1764, of "Mogul Pitt and Nabob Bute". This is hardly conclusive evidence of origin, for Bute was not "specifically" a Nabob.* A better explanation of the term is given in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases:* "It began to be applied in the Eighteenth Century, when the transactions of Clive made the epithet familiar in England, to Anglo-Indians who returned with fortunes from the East; and Foote's

*In 1761, however, Walpole did write: "West Indians, conquerors, nabobs, and victorious admirals attack every borough."

play of the 'The Nabob' (1768) aided in giving general currency to the word in this sense". It is certain that it was during the years immediately following Plassey that the word came into general use, but the part ascribed to Foote in popularizing it is probably exaggerated. *The Nabob* was, in fact, first produced in 1772,[1] when Foote seized upon the prominence into which the contemporary Parliamentary investigation of India affairs had already brought the word.[2] As late as 1758 and 1764 writers who referred to a native nabob thought it necessary to define the title.[3]

We may say, then, that English Nabobs were unknown prior to the train of events which first hustled poor John Company, willy nilly, up the rough road of empire. In 1773 a stockholder lamented "that old commercial Dividend, . . . which we enjoyed for a Series of Years, long before we had to do with Nabobs".[4] The essence of Nabobery was that it was not commercial. The Nabob was, in general, a civil or military servant of the Company, who enriched himself by exploiting the advantages which the establishment of British political dominion in India gave to the officials of the ruling power on the spot.

The Nabobs in England aims to tell how the Nabobs spent their money. How they accumulated it belongs more properly to the history of India. Nevertheless, the two subjects cannot be kept entirely separate, and a brief outline of what were, to the Company's servants, the readiest roads to fortune may make the succeeding chapters more clear to the reader.

India had for generations furnished a profitable business to merchants and financiers. Sir Josiah Child and Thomas Pitt are the famous examples of pre-Nabob Indian magnates. The former was never in India; the latter laid the foundation of his riches as an interloping trader.* The Company's service offered only the prospect of a subordinate career; a competence in exchange for a lifetime amid most distant and strange surroundings. "The East Indies", wrote a pamphleteer of 1772,[5] "were not till of late years, considered as a quick road to wealth; formerly appointments in the Company's service were not objects of general solicitation, as few men envied

*Joseph Price, *The Saddle Put On The Right Horse; or, an Enquiry Into The Reason Why Certain Persons have been denominated Nabobs* (1783), pp. 28-29: "When the grandfather of the Earl of Chatham was Governor of Madrass, the appelation of Nabob, as applied to Englishman (sic), was not known; nor did the occasion so to apply it, exist, until many years afterwards". An interloper was an independent violator of the Company's monopoly.

the acquisition of a rich Governor, who came home to brood over his wealth without enjoyment; offices abroad were therefore generally filled by men who had scarce anything but long services and abilities to support their pretensions to posts of the highest trust; . . ".

The organisation of the Company's service plainly indicated its narrowly commercial origin. The civil servants took rank in the four ascending grades of Writer, Factor, Junior and Senior Merchant. He who aspired to a Writership made application in the form of a set petition to the Court of Directors. In this he stated that, "having been duly educated in Writing, Arithmetick, & Merchants Accompts, he is desirous of serving your Honours as a Writer in India & prays therefore to be admitted accordingly, being ready to give the Security Required".[6] A birth certificate, and a testimonial from the master under whom the training in "accompts" had been received, generally accompanied the petition. A Director's endorsement, on the back or at the bottom of the document, was, however, the essential point, without which no candidate could hope for success. Sixteen or seventeen was the usual age of a Writer on entering the service.[7]

During the period of this study, and indeed, for some time afterwards, all the above conditions remained unaltered. By the education which it demanded of its servants, and by the titles which it gave them, the Company seemed determined to proclaim that no matter how much government, diplomacy, and war might sometimes enlist their energies, commerce was still to be their main concern. The servants themselves recognised their changed position more rapidly and decisively. They found that their new political authority opened quicker roads to greater wealth than the private inland trade with which they had hitherto legitimately supplemented their utterly inadequate salaries.*

The Nabobs came from an England in which financial disinterestedness in politics was a mere theory, to an India in which it was not even that. Exposed to such a combination of influences, they practised the methods of both Western and Eastern jobbery. There are certain forms of political corruption known to all countries and all ages: contracts, sinecures, and paymasterships were as advantageous in India as elsewhere. Besides these commonplaces, the India of the Nabobs offered other opportunities peculiar to itself.

*When Clive arrived at Madras in 1744, a writer received £ 5 per annum, a senior merchant £ 40. Although afterwards much increased, the pay remained very modest throughout this period.

Bribes, euphemistically called "presents", were rigorously indispensable accompaniments of any business approach to Indian officialdom. "When the English suddenly acquired their extraordinary power in Bengal, the current of presents, so well accustomed to take its course in the channel drawn by hope and fear, flowed very naturally and very copiously, into the lap of the strangers".[8] While the Company's servants did not deign to carry this custom to the pettinesses of the native extreme, they yet knew how to adopt it to good account whenever a worthy main chance occurred.

In 1757 the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-uddaula, who had perpetrated the Black Hole atrocity was overthrown, and Mir Jafir set up in his stead. The latter properly rewarded those servants who had engineered the coup. King-making proved lucrative too in 1760, when Mir Jafir, having proved too weak, was replaced by Mir Casim, and in 1764-5, when Casim, having proved too strong, was replaced by Nujum-uddaula.

The exact division of the spoil on these occasions was as follows:*

1757	
Governor Drake	£31,500
Lord Clive	211,500
Mr. Watts	117,000
Major Kilpatrick	60,750
Mr. Manningham	27,000
Mr. Becher	27,000
Mr. Boddam	11,367
Mr. Frankland	11,367
Mr. Mackett	11,367
Mr. Collet	11,367
Mr. Amyatt	11,366
Mr. Pearkes	11,366
Mr. Walsh	56,250
Mr. Scrafton	22,500
Mr. Lushington	5,625
Major Grant	11,250
1760	
Governor Vansittart	58,333
Mr. Holwell	30,937
Mr. Sumner	28,000
Gen. Caillaud	22,916
Mr. Mac Guire	29,375
Mr. Smith	15,354
Mr. Yorke	15,354
1764	
Major Munro (King's Army)	13,000
His staff and attendants	3,000
1765	
Governor Spencer	23,333
Mr. Johnstone	27,650
Mr. Middleton	14,291
Mr. Senior	20,125
Mr. Leycester	13,125
Mr. Pleydell	11,667
Mr. Burdett	11,667

*The figures here given are identical with those quoted by Mill as "disclosed by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1773". — Vol. 3, pp. 367-370.

Mr. Gray	11,666	Lord Clive	58,333
Gen. Carnac	32,666	Mr. G. Johnstone	5,833

This period of revolutionary turmoil was highly favorable to another form of Nabobery. The Company had long possessed the privilege of transporting goods into and out of the country free of the numerous local tolls. Their servants now illegally enforced a like exemption for their own private trade.[9] The Indian merchants were thus placed at a disastrous disadvantage, and the revenue subjected to heavy loss. Moreover, the banians or native agents, by whom the servants carried on trade were often guilty of gross tyranny.[10] Mir Casim's courageous attempts to suppress these practices resulted in his own ruin, for which he avenged himself by murdering, at Patna, all the Company's servants in his clutches.[11]

With the passing of the first throes of conquest, and the establishment of settled government, palace revolutions and frank illegalities as foundations of fortune, gave way to more sophisticated methods. In 1769 Bengal was divided into districts, over each of which was placed an official known first as a Supervisor, and after 1772 as a Collector. His duties were the collection of taxes and the administration of justice.[12] Councils with authority over the Supervisors were set up at Moorshedabad and Patna.[13] Many were the favours these gentlemen could do, and many were the presents they received. The Zemindars or principal landholders, held on a feudal tenure from the state; the state was now represented by the Councils and Collectors, to whom the Zemindars had periodically to bid for a continuation of their leases.[14] Sometimes the Company's servants took up land themselves, the name of the true holder being concealed behind that of his banian.[15] Also, there were valuable concessions to be given out. John Bathoe, Collector of Burdwan District, gave the local salt concession to the Zemindar on condition that the latter should pay him 28,000 rupees during the first two years of the contract. The 14,000 rupees due the first year Bathoe kept for himself. The second year's 14,000 were divided among the Council at Patna. George Vansittart, who was Chief of the Council, received 4,148 rupees.[16]

"The government of the country," wrote Warren Hastings to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, "consists of 3 distinct powers: the Supravisors (sic), the Boards of Revenue at Moorshedabad & Patna, & the Governor & Council at Calcutta. The order in which

I have named them is not accidental, but consonant to the degree of trust, power, and emolument which they severally possess. . . . The Supravisor is the sovereign of the division over which he presides. I am told also that the trade in every district is engrossed by the Supravisors, but more especially rice & the other necessaries of life. It is certainly in their power to engross them, & you may judge whether they do not. . . ".[17]

Money lending at Indian rates of interest was a tempting avocation to the Company's servants. Madras was the Paradise for this kind of Nabobery.* There a small clique, most notorious among whom was Paul Benfield, virtually held the entire state in pawn. Muhammad Ali had been continued as nominal Nawab of the Carnatic. The Company, however, undertook the defence of the country, in return for which the Nawab assigned them a part of his revenues. "The demands of the Company increased with their wars, and the nawab came to adopt the strange method of borrowing from the servants of the Company to meet the demands of the Company. . . . He delivered up to his private creditors the revenues of his territories."[18] In 1776, Lord Pigot as Governor, objected to some of the claims made by the Nawab's creditors. For this he was seized by them, and placed in illegal confinement.[19]

Such highhanded methods were, of course, exceptional. Indeed the Nabob might make his money by means that were, according to the standards of the day, hardly questionable. Robert Palk entered the Madras service in 1749, and was Governor from 1763 to 1767. No unpleasant publicity ever attached to him, yet he returned to England with a large fortune. Colonel Love, the editor of the Palk Manuscripts, sums up the ways by which he made it:

> As Paymaster of the Army and the holder of a bullock contract granted him by Clive, he had had early opportunities of making money, and those opportunities increased with his advancement in the service. He was interested in private trade, a practice which was recognized by the Company. The custom of the time permitted the surreptitious receipt of presents by all public servants who could command them. Palk admits in one of his letters that he accepted gifts of money from prospective renters of lands, but he takes credit to himself for never having solicited a present. The Nawab had much to gain from a Governor, and though Palk resisted pressure to attack Tanjore, he rendered valuable aid at Madura, and Muhammad Ali probably attested his

*"At present, when a gentleman is said to be a Nabob, the hearer conceives that he has served the East India Company at Bengal. But this is by no means a just idea: there are Nabobs . . . who have served at Madrass (sic) and Bombay."—Price, op.cit., p. 23.

gratitude in the usual manner. The conclusion of treaties furnished other facilities.[20]

The various methods of exploitation enumerated above did not cease as suddenly as they began. Reformation made gradual progress during the administrations of Hastings and Cornwallis, and was, perhaps, more particularly furthered by a general recognition that the status of the Company had been radically changed, and that its servants must henceforth be held to strict responsibility in government as well as in commerce. Yet in 1795 Lord Hobart, President of Madras, had still to protest against the "usurious loans which, it has long been the practice, principally among the European gentlemen of the Presidency, to make the Durbar for mortgages upon the different provinces of the Carnatic". Some of the Madras business firms, or *"even of the Company's servants"* [21] were declared guilty of this practice. Nevertheless, the italics are in themselves evidence of marked betterment.

Nabobery began to achieve respectability in England before it had been completely eradicated from India. It played its greatest part upon the English scene between 1760 and 1785. Within this quarter century appeared practically all the newly notorious individuals whom Foote, and Fox and Burke, and Walpole, seconded by a host of lesser publicists and gossips, took as their model in drawing what passed for the typical Nabob of the day. By the later date Anglo-Indians had begun to make their peace with the ruling classes. "The conversation of a multitude of gentlemen from India who mixed with every part of society" is given by Mill as one reason for the turn of public opinion in favour of Hastings during his impeachment.[22] More judicious bearing on one side [23]; a desire to participate in Indian opportunities on the other [24], were depriving the word of its novel glory, and sending it to its conventional place in the democracy of the dictionary.

KEY TO REFERENCES, INTRODUCTION

[1] Baker's Biographia Dramatica, vol. IV, p. 69.

[2] "The character of a Nabob has, for some time, been a subject of so much animadversion, as well within, as without doors, that Mr. Foote judiciously thought he would be a proper personage for dramatic satire."—Town and Country Magazine, 1772, p. 373.

[3] Annual Register, 1758, p. 13; 1764, p. 192.

[4] Public Advertiser, March 16, 1773.

[5] "Considerations on a Pamphlet Entitled 'Thoughts on our Acquisitions in the East Indies, particularly respecting Bengal'." London, 1772, pp. 3-4.

[6] Typical Writer's Petition. Exact quotation from the Petition of John Cartier. Writers' Petitions, vol. I, 1749, no. 8.

[7] Writers' Petitions in general.

[8] Mill, History of India, 1858 edition, vol. III, p. 366.

[9] Ibid. Vol. III, pp. 326-327.

[10] Ibid, III, 328, footnote, pp. 330-331. Also, R. C. Dutt, Economic History of India Under Early British Rule, pp. 23-27.

[11] Dutt, op.cit., pp. 29-31.

[12] Mill, op.cit., III, 519.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Parliamentary History, vol. 22, column 1280.

[15] Dutt, op.cit., p. 67.

[16] India Office, Personal Records, etc., vol. 14, p. 171.

[17] Monckton-Jones, Warren Hastings In Bengal, pp. 148-149.

[18] Dutt, op.cit., p. 99.

[19] D. N. B., under Pigot.

[20] Palk Mss., pp. viii-ix.

[21] Mill, op.cit., VI, 57.

[22] Ibid, V, 219.

[23] Pub. Ad., May 27, Nov. 13, 1784.

[24] Joseph Price, The Saddle Put On The Right Horse, pp. 76-77.

CHAPTER I

THE NABOBS IN SOCIETY

In the England of the Eighteenth Century, every man had his place. To be rich or ambitious beyond one's place was socially undesirable. Wealth was justified only as it supported aristocracy, not in accordance with the modern concept that it should be a reward within the reach of all. Propriety prescribed the correct degree of prosperity for each class, and he who rose above it was rather an upstart than a selfmade man. The nation had long outgrown the simple and summary theory of the medieval Estates, but the idea that function, standard of living, and prestige, were inseparably graded to status remained very strong. Wraxall tells us that, with one exception, George III never created anyone engaged in commerce, a British peer. The memory of the South Sea Bubble was unsavoury as much for having enriched some of the poor, as for having impoverished some of the rich.[2] The Bubble had, it was said, made paupers "ungenteely rich"; the phrase is significant. A landowner who saw the daughters of one of his tenants too fashionably dressed "grew alarmed" at such "luxury" and raised the rent straightaway.[3] It was quite enough that in the more modest period of the East India Company, the boy who entered the service penniless might end as a Director. Now that the sons of the middleclass could aspire to still higher honors, strong measures were called for.[4]

In this static and hierachical society the Nabob was a conspicuous, but not an isolated figure. He was only part of the backwash of imperialism which was contributing to the breakdown of the old order. Shortly after 1763 the results of the flood of conquest and commerce became strongly perceptible. Fortunes of the first magnitude were made by men who had hitherto held lesser rank in life. They were determined to raise their power and position to the level of their credit. This precipitated a fierce class strife, which was signalised by changes in the ownership of landed estates and pocket boroughs. Indian Nabobs, Caribbean sugar planters, African slave traders, and government war contractors, were assailing insular and agricultural England.

The prejudices of insular England were not confined to foreign boundaries, but began at the Northern bank of the Tweed, and ex-

tended to the ends of the Empire. "'Africans', Americans, Nabobs, and Scotchmen" might be mentioned in the same unfriendly newspaper paragraph[5], and in the same connection. The prejudices of agricultural England were chiefly directed at those whose relative position was equal to what is to-day in the United States called "Big Business". This group included all who had made fortunes in commerce, which competed with those of the landed classes. It comprised not only the men who were drawing new money from the new territories, but their home ramifications as well. Just as Aldermen and Nabobs met at the India House, so the connections of the City magnate extended over the Earth, and so the speculator who had never been beyond Greenwich might make a fortune in India or South Sea Stock. Thus in the eyes of the littlest Englanders the motley crew who offended both their insularism and their more material interests were one. Whether or no the squirearchy clearly understood that men of such diverse occupations and geographical interests had been raised up by the same forces is uncertain. But all the World could see that here were birds of a feather.

Foote treated the commissary as he treated the nabob,[6] and the likeness between the two types was more widely recognised. "Agents, Commissary's and Nabob's Plums" were a delectable dessert for the Devil's dinner.[7] The new "Knights of the Golden Fleece" were to be "Contractors, public Jobbers, Commissaries, and Nabobs".[8] It was suggested that the clause in Pitt's India Bill which proposed to compel returning nabobs to register their acquisitions under oath should be made applicable to commissaries as well,[9] and even that "every individual retiring loaded with the pelf of office" should do likewise.[10]

The social characteristics of East and West Indies were strikingly coupled together in the public mind. Adventurous servants seeking places abroad frequently advertised their willingness to go to either part.[11] A newspaper comment compared the earnings of East and West India captains.[12] Half the World might separate Bengal from Jamaica, but to the country gentleman it mattered not at all whether the purse-proud barbarian who would supplant him arrived from the East or from the West. "West Indian Pride and West Indian Extravagance" were "surpassed from the East".[13] "Patriots,* Nabobs, and Sugar-planters" would make "the old respectable Name of

*"Patriots" were identified with agitators against the prevailing system: supporters of Wilkes, opponents of the American War, etc.

Country-gentleman totally lost in a certain Chapel in Westminster."[14] "West Indians" were "little better than Nabobs, and as troublesome in interfering in our Boroughs."[15]

Yet the Nabobs had attributes which made them more sensational than those with whom they were sometimes compared. There was, after all, little that was dramatic, or even essentially novel, in building up a fortune by the sale of sugar, or by supplying beef to the army. The Nabobs appeared in a far different light. The precise methods by which they had enriched themselves were somewhat mysterious, and were to be long the subject of Parliamentary enquiry and debate. All that was clearly known was, that to the merchant they had suddenly added the sovereign, the legislator, and the soldier, and that the apparent net result of this remarkable versatility was but to increase the keenness of their original character. They now counted kingdoms among their stock in trade, kingdoms which had not yet come to be regarded with any the less awe for being Oriental. Of such men it was possible to believe anything.

The cynicism of the age combined with its credulity to establish the Nabob Legend. We have noted that every man had his place; the Eighteenth Century itself was at least as conscious of the fact that every man had his price. Disinterestedness in public life was seldom found and never expected. This attitude of complete disillusionment toward mankind was coupled with an abysmal ignorance of things Indian. The result was a readiness to believe anything of the Nabobs, always provided that it was sufficiently lurid. A report that Hastings had made himself independent ruler of Bengal gained some credence.[16] The causes of this gullibility were unconsciously summed up by a contemporary letter writer: "If the Contractors and other Persons employed by Government at Home, have made Princely fortunes by practising every Species of Fraud to the great Detriment of the Public, though under the more immediate Eye of Government, what might we not have expected from such men, . . . separated from the seat of Power as far as Europe is from Asia."[17]

It became the fashion "to impute to the East India Company and their servants every species of crime" that could "disgrace the human character".[18] "The Punderers of the East," "Robbers and Murderers",[19] "Execrable Banditti",[20] such was the everyday characterisation of the Anglo-Indian. The Company itself was referred to as

"that horrible Society",[21] and the uninformed might well have gathered that it was a brotherhood of Thugs. Atrocities upon "the plains of Asia", were indeed, said to "have constituted the religion of Directors and their servants".[22] A partially complete list of the mere terms of abuse that were showered upon the Nabobs over a period of years would be both tedious and unnecessary.

The odious comparison is the sincerest criticism; it gives little play to the scurrility of paid hacks. Lord Townsend's government of Ireland was called "an aggravation of even Asiatic Oppression".[23] "A Moderate Englishman" hoped to mitigate the unpopularity of the Scots by asking "of what Country are these Nabobs Natives, who are accused of having . . . oppressed, plundered and starved many Thousands of Innocents in the Province of Bengal?" The Nabob of fancy was not alone the awful example of bad morals, but the equally convenient,—and it must be admitted, more true to life,—bogey man of bad manners. Did a lady make herself unpleasantly conspicuous at the Pantheon? Such conduct, "Mr. Editor", "could only come from the dregs of the people, a lunatic, or one of those whose Asiatic cruelties have filled their purses, but left their heads as empty as their hearts, of sensibility or delicacy."[24]

The very virtues of the Nabob were liable to be distorted and used against him. The old boys of Westminster School resident in Bengal purchased an annuity of twenty pounds to provide for an aged tart woman of their youth. A London newspaper instanced this as an example of how the Nabobs squandered their plunder in "absurd profusion."[25] However, your typical Nabob was not always so lavish. He had poor relations; every Nabob sprang from a family of housemaids and footmen. Soon after returning "from the East Indies, where he got upwards of 800,000£ he made some Enquiry after a Maiden Sister, whom he left in Service when he went from England, and still finding her in the Capacity of a Housemaid, after a little Conversation with her, took his Leave, told her he was glad to see her so well, encouraged her to keep her Place, and at going away *generously* gave her a Guinea".[26]

Pure fantasy took up the tale; lapse into verse enlivened the dreary chorus of denunciation. The Nabob of fancy is best drawn in *The Nabob: or, Asiatic Plunderers,* an anonymous "satyrical poem" of forty-two pages. The following stanzas will serve as a specimen:

"Could they [the Nabobs], if conscience were not quite asleep,
Each day, a *Saturnalian* revel keep?
Each day, a *nuptial* feast before their sight,
If angry conscience did, or lash, or bite?
'Tis a strong symptom they forget to feel;
Their breasts are stone, their minds as hard as steel." [27]

Nor did the anti-Nabob extravaganza spend itself solely in words. Social ostracism became the lot of the returned Anglo-Indian. At a public masquerade he might be greeted by a character distributing derogatory lines,[28] or the ladies might refuse to dance with him.[29] The *Calcutta Gazette* noted that "many private letters mention the great disrespect in which East Indians are held in England, so much so that they are driven to associate almost entirely with each other." [30] Eyles Irwin, a Company's servant of literary inclinations, was moved to write:

"How long, Britannia! shall in Glory's race
Thy sons yet struggle for the foremost place,
Or dare the frigid pole or burning Zone,
In every region honour'd but their own?" [31]

The rising Humanitarianism of the day doubtless played a great part in the "Detestation shewn by all Ranks of People" [32] for the Nabobs. It was an accepted belief that the fortunes brought home from India were made by the wanton exercise of unrestrained physical violence. The cruelties perpetrated by the Company's servants were thought to merit comparison only with those of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru.[33] Here is the stay-at-home Englishman's picture of the Merry Indian scene: "Lacks and crowes [sic] of rupees, sacks of diamonds, Indians tortured to disclose their treasure; cities, towns, and villages ransacked and destroyed; jaghires and provinces purloined; Nabobs dethroned and murdered." [34] A jest is often valuable evidence of deeper feeling. William Hickey relates, how on setting out for India, he was presented with a sword by a friend, who "desired me to cut off half a dozen rich fellows' heads with it, and so return a Nabob myself to England." [35] To the legendary Nabob the death of one hundred and fifty thousand natives was a bagatelle.[36]

"Give *British* Laws to the Subjects of Britain", was one far-fetched demand.[37] It was vain for Major Scott to say: "No Revenue is ever collected in India without some degree of Force, and the Whip is there at least as necessary to the taxgatherer as his ink-horn", but "at no period in no part of India, has severity been so sparingly applied to the Operations of Finance, as in Bengal, since the Period of the Company's Government."[38]

English Humanitarianism may be peculiarly attracted by the exotic. One recalls the great agitation against negro slavery in the West Indies, while the worst horrors of the factory system were in full swing at home. This feeling of indifference to fellow countrymen may, under certain circumstances, give place to positive enmity. Shaw has given us the type in Mr. Broadbent, whose "blood boils pretty easy over ennything that appens out of his own country" and who "was as pleased as Punch" at news that "an English expedition had been bet in a battle in Inja somewhere".[39] A similar sentiment seems to have been felt toward the early Anglo-Indians. "You hoped that Hyder Ali would have extirpated our banditti", wrote Horace Walpole to the Countess of Ossory.* The real hardships often suffered by the pioneers of Empire in India attracted comparatively little notice. By far the greatest share of sympathy was reserved for the natives. Mill reflects this attitude in his palliation of the Black Hole.[40] The fate of General Matthews, who was captured by the enemy, was openly declared to be well deserved retribution for his reputedly cruel methods of warfare.[41] In 1784, a farce, *The Mogul Tale,* was successfully produced at the Haymarket Theatre.[42] It deals with the adventures of three English, who are unwittingly and unwillingly carried by a balloon to the court of the Great Mogul. That potentate finally permits them to depart unharmed because "your countrymen's cruelty to the poor Gentoos has shown me tyranny in so foul a light, that I was determined henceforth to be only mild, just, and merciful."[43]

At the other end of the scale from Humanitarianism as an element in anti-Nabob prejudice was the factor of sheer envy. It is, of course, obvious that those whom the Nabobs outshone or displaced would be prone to personal spite against them, and this was explicitly recognised at the time.[44] But the feeling of envy toward the Company and its servants was deeper and more widespread.

*Walpole's Letters, edited by Peter Cunningham, London, 1858; Vol. VIII, p. 395.

The Roars [sic] of the Day is 'down with that Monster . . ., the infamous India Company.' Something is held out to every Rank in the State to tempt them to join the Chorus. To his Majesty, . . . the immediate Patronage of an Empire equal to that of Alexander the Great, not forgetting the Means of paying off the Civil List Debts without the Aid of Parliament. To the needy Courtiers or P-t Men, is held out the Opening for themselves and Friends to be provided for in India. To the Country Gentlemen the lowering of the Land-Tax, by the Possession of the Revenues of India; and to the Public at large, that old Tub to the Whale, the Payment of the National Debt, lowering the Price of Provisions, and abolishing all Duties on Soap, Candles, etc., etc.[45]

The idea that India could be made to pay off the National Debt was extraordinarily captivating, and was bound up with current exaggerated notions of Oriental wealth. Clive had written Pitt that the Bengal conquest could "in time" be used for this purpose, and Beckford thought that "the East" might become a source of direct revenue.*[46] A pamphleteer maintained that India under the direct government of the Crown would yield sufficient profit to discharge the debt.[47] "Those who are groaning under accumulated Taxes," wrote Barwell to Hastings, "believe the Resources of the East must have relieved them had not the Wild Ambition You are charged with, and the Shameful Rapacity of All Orders of Men in India Swallowed Up its Wealth."[48]

What galled peaceful citizen and "needy courtier" alike was the thought that riches which might have been used to lighten their burdens were going into the pockets of men who, when they were not shuddered at as "Monsters of Iniquity",[49] were sneered at as "Clerks and Boys",[50] or as "Pedlars" filling "the thrones of Aurangzebe."[51] Here was the real sin of the Nabobs. They were not of the callings to which the prizes of war and politics rightfully belonged. That the conquerors and administrators of an empire should gather vast fortunes was, to the Eighteenth Century, natural and inevitable. Such rewards were the recognised perquisites of soldiers, sailors, and politicians. For them to be reaped by the subordinates of a commercial corporation was a grotesque and intolerable violation of all the rules of the game.

So the England whose Royal Navy was as avaricious of prize money as of glory[52] taxed the Nabobs' rapacity, and the England whose House of Commons was a merchantable commodity slurred their honour. Little irregularities that passed without comment in the

*Beckford to Chatham, Chatham Mss., P. R. O. I., 19. (Communicated by H. D.).

23771
MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES ST.

life of the time, became evidence of depravity when practised by East Indians. Parliamentary corruption, says a modern writer,* "was regarded with an indulgence which was measured, not in proportion to the bribe, but according to the briber. A venial error in the son of a peer was mortal sin in a nabob. What really excited the resentment of the governing classes was the spectacle of an upstart buying his way into Parliament." Advertisements offering proportionate "premiums" to anyone who had influence to get the advertiser a place under government appeared frequently in the daily press.[53] The traffic was sufficiently brisk to enlist the services of professional "place" brokers.[54] Everything from a menial position [55] to a lucrative sinecure or a parliamentary seat was solicited in this way, at prices varying from a few pounds to thousands of guineas.[56] Yet during the debates on Fox's India Bill, Sir William Dolben instanced as proof of the need for reform, that "there were advertisements in the public newspapers offering one thousand pounds for a Writer's place.*"

The distinction between plunder by the Nabobs and legitimate gain by those within the circle of the ruling oligarchy, was neatly brought out:

If a certain Assembly should resolve not to act inconsistently with the Principles upon which some late Propositions* are founded, the subsequent Bills for Restitution must act very extensively. The Manilla,* the Havannah,* etc., etc., will become Objects of Enquiry. General Draper must certainly refund all he brought away with him. . . Sir G. Pococke and the Albemarle Family to be sure will be great Sufferers, but as all is to be returned, they will no longer be troubled with Complaints from the inferior Orders of an unequitable

*G. S. Veitch, The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform, p. 12.

*Parliamentary History, Vol. XXIV, Column 5. Speech of Dec. 3rd, 1783. I have found only one advertisement of the kind. It is in The Public Advertiser for Nov. 14th and 15th, 1783: "WRITER'S PLACE TO BENGAL. WANTED, A WRITER'S PLACE to Bengal, for which One Thousand Guineas will be given. There is not a third Person in this Business, and the Money is ready to be paid down, without any written Negociation." This price may have represented a fall in value. According to the same paper for June 2nd, 1773, Writerships "brought the other Year between Two and Three Thousand Pounds each, though the favorite Sultana of one Director sold a Writership for the pitiful Sum of 500£." Military appointments were worth much less; in 1784 a cadetship was advertised for at fifty guineas.

*The resolutions proposed in the House of Commons by General Burgoyne, and directed against the Nabobs, declared that it was illegal for private individuals to acquire sums by treaty with foreign princes, or by military force, and that such acquisitions of right belonged to the state.

*Manila was captured in 1762 by Lt.-Gen. Sir William Draper and Admiral Cornish. They accepted bills on Madrid for £ 1,000,000 in lieu of pillage. Draper's share of the ransom was £ 25,000. The Spanish government refused to honour the bills. D. N. B.

*Pocock and Albermarle took Havana in the same year. Their share of the prize money was £ 122,697 10s 6d each. D. N. B.

Distribution. . . Honest Bob M—n* is pretty safe. To be sure he did get something at Martinique; but the Devil is in it if they make him refund any, it has been gone long ago. It is well, however, he did not go to India; he is wise enough now probably not to desire it.[57]

The bearing of the Nabobs in England often made it all too easy to imagine the worst of their conduct in India. They became notorious for bad manners. Social intercourse was hedged about with ceremonialism; it was the period of bow and curtsey, of "sir" and "madam". Good breeding laid great stress on a nice observance of conventional formalism, even between parents and children. Appropriateness and dignity were idealised. Chesterfield was the prophet of the age; the Circus and the Crescent at Bath are its cathedrals. East Indians ran counter to these dominant currents. They were ostentatious and unrestrained. "Be so good as to live 'till I return," wrote Francis, "and you shall see wonders. You shall see one whom India has made neither rich nor saucy." [58]

Life in India usually left its mark on the returned Company's servant. That life impressed an onlooker as being "from the religion of their servants, the heat of the climate, and other circumstances so extraordinary, that I can scarcely believe myself amongst English people: . . . they are expensive in horses, carriages, palengneens [sic], and numbers of servants; are fond of entertainments, dress, and pleasure; sociable with each other, hospitable and civil to strangers".[59] A pretentious style of living was not so much vanity as necessity in a country which made pomp essential to government. The tedium of years among a small circle, far from home, was eked out by fortifying the gaming table and the bottle with the Nautch girl, or with more innocent, but equally outré pastimes. Mackrabie, Francis's brother-in-law, pictures a party given by Barwell; "the Supper detestable,—great joints of roasted Goat, with endless dishes of cold fish,—3 or 4 songs screeched to unknown tunes,—the Ladies regaled with cherry brandy,—and we pelted each other with Bread pills a la mode de Bengal." [60]

When the Nabob returned to his own country, he found the social rank assigned him even more unaccustomed and unpleasant, than the graces which he had forgotten. In India he had been treated as a real Nawab; in England he might be condescendingly permitted to buy a precarious position on the frontier of the Great World. Natu-

*Lt.-Gen. Robert Monckton and Admiral Rodney captured Martinique in 1762. D. N. B.

rally, he revolted; bad temper was joined to bad manners. The man whose ego had asserted itself at an Oriental court could not be duly dazzled by a county ball. He could not be properly abashed before gentlemen who had set out on the Grand Tour with delicious trepidation, at an age when he was already beginning to be bored with India.

Who were these people to give themselves airs? Were they more able? They had lost an Empire in the West, "while we were gaining one in the East". Were they more honest? "India" was "Innocence the purest Innocence compared with Europe".[61] Were they more virtuous? "It was not the Riches of the East, but was more owing to their own Extravagances, Gaming and Debaucheries which laid them under a Necessity of parting with their paternal Estates."[62] Thus the Nabob spent his money in irritating his neighbors, and his time in writing grumbling letters to his old friends. We may well believe that "few of the Indians, even of the greatest wealth" were "satisfied with England."[63] Their "general complaint" made Sir John Call afraid to return home, although he had amassed an ample fortune.[64]

Utterly unable to adjust himself to his surroundings, the Nabob might seek refuge in sullen seclusion. Richard Barwell had been the sole supporter of Warren Hastings against the majority of the Bengal Council. He returned to England in 1780 with a large fortune, and lived magnificently. Nevertheless, Major Scott, who was the publicly avowed agent of Hastings, found Barwell unhappy. Scott wrote to his principal[65]: "Mr. Barwell has purchased Lord Halifax's House & an Estate of about 2000 a year for One Hundred Thousand Pounds. It is one of the best Houses in England. He lives quite retired & they are apprehensive of his getting into a dangerous melancholy way." A little later[66]: "I have dined once with Mr. Barwell.—He appears discontented and unhappy. His House is an Excellent one, & he lives elegantly. He has a very good Estate in the Country too, yet says he dislikes the People & the Country."

Barwell's half illnatured, half awkward retirement, antagonised rich and poor alike. To the latter he denied privileges which they had enjoyed on his estate under the previous owner; gates, paths, and a spring, which had always been open to the public were now shut up.[67] The local gentry were scandalised by the rudeness with which he kept them awaiting his presence at a fete. For these actions

his equals shunned him, his inferiors "hissed and hooted as he passed with all his Oriental state through the villages."[68]

"After persevering in this offensive line of conduct about six months, Mr. Barwell began to think that being completely shut out from society, except what he had from London, and those mostly East Indians, was not pleasant." He therefore relaxed, extended every indulgence ever granted by Lord Halifax, not only opened the former paths, but made additional ones. He apologised to those whom he had insulted, and invited them, and all the principal families round-about, to a magnificent dinner, ball, and supper. Some few still spurned him, "but there were always people enough who, although they despised the man, could not resist the temptation his splendid dinners and excellent wines afforded."

At his London residence, Barwell always ordered the table laid for eighteen, so that any acquaintance he or his two brothers might chance upon could be readily invited.[69]

Major Charles Marsac was another returned Nabob who guarded his land against trespassers with unwonted strictness. He had purchased the Caversham estate from Lord Cadogan.[70] "His Lordship suffered any persons to pass through his Park, but now you must *pay* or 'turn *back* again!'*" The strange retinue which the Major brought with him was held to have polluted the sweet simplicity of the countryside.

> The homely rustic and blushing maid are now supplanted by old French women, Swiss Valets de Chambre, Black boys, Gentoo coachmen, Mulatto footmen, and Negro butlers. The dialect is of course improved much—though here and there the plain English is retained—but it is only to make mistakes—for they call Mr. Marsac—a very worthy East Indian—Major Masacre—and his improvements—his devastation."[71]

General Richard Smith's Nabob arrogance manifested itself in reverse fashion; he found the too rigid privacy of others irksome. Shortly after having been appointed High Sheriff of Berkshire he called a County Meeting, for the purpose of obtaining sanction to cut a road through the property of the gentlemen present, "for his sole convenience, so that he might arrive at his magnificent seat of Chilton Lodge, without the necessity of passing through the little stinking town of Hungerford."[72]

*Whether from diplomacy or truth, it was added that "the Major is from home at present, and probably does not know of the imposition practiced at the Lodge."—Public Advertiser, November 4th, 1784.

The Nabob was not more agreeable as a fellow traveller than as a neighbor. At Bath, Sir Thomas Rumbold outshone all the other visitors. When he left for town it was with a coach and six, a post-chaise and four, and eight outriders. Arrived at the Castle Inn, Marlborough, he monopolised the attention of the servants to such an extent that Mr. Robert Jones, a director of the East India Company, who was also there was "soured, until Sir Thomas, having sent in to ask if he could have the honour of seeing him, caused a complete change in the waiters' countenance."[73] When Mrs. Hastings arrived in England, it was noted that "no part of her equippage or economy has any of that assumption or affectation so offensive in other Asiatic Grandees."*[74]

In the small and placid pool of dominant society, individuals such as these plumped themselves with all the stir of a rock in a mill-pond. The little Freemasonry of power and influence which owned and ruled England needed no ponderous Peerage or Who's Who to identify its members. To this fraternity the numbers and wealth of the Nabobs would seem magnified by the very fact that they were peculiarly unpleasant intruders. Piercing shrieks were raised about "the return of many who had visited that continent almost without a shirt, with millions of acquired property";* about the "Mushroom Gentlemen who have acquired Fortunes sufficient for Dukes in two, three, four Years",[75] and how they "bore themselves with such insolent triumph that they assumed more than the first nobles of the Kingdom".[76]

A few fortunes great enough to be more or less in harmony with this tone were made in India, although we are dependent upon rumor's estimate of their amount. Rumor, however, was not likely to minimize. Clive, and later on, Benfield, were, of course, enormously rich. A hostile journal credited Rumbold with "little more than six hundred thousand pounds".[77] Barwell was supposed to have four hundred thousand,[78] and Marsac eighty thousand pounds.[79]

*A first report, however, declared that her route from Plymouth was attended by three gentlemen out of livery, eight coaches, four ladies in waiting, twenty-four slaves, and two eunuchs! In fact, she landed at Portsmouth, and came up to town in a private carriage.—Public Advertiser, August 6th and 11th, 1784.

*Speech of Mr. Hungerford at the nomination of members for Leicestershire, April 12th, 1784, reported in the Public Advertiser of April 22nd. The gentleman's reflection on the budding Nabob's lack of wardrobe was singularly unfortunate, and should have betrayed his ignorance. The elementary etiquette of ordinary decency required a European in India to change every garment daily. Scott became quite exercised over a malicious tale that Hastings had appeared publicly in a dirty shirt.—Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29152, Fol. 189, b.

Among George Vansittart's fellow servants it was reported that he had "gone passenger to England with 150 Thousand pounds in his Pocket".[80]*

But the great majority of those who returned did not bring back enough to make them the target of Nabob baiters, or to attract widespread attention. As far as can be judged from internal evidence, the aspirations of the average were comparatively modest. Pitt proposed to the House of Commons "that after the first five years persons employed in the Company's service might be supposed to save out of their salaries 2000 a year without being suspected of peculation".[81] Against this, Mackrabie actually considered "very respectable", an office "the whole of the Emoluments" of which were "worth about a Thousand Pounds a year".[82]

Scott told the House that "nineteen out of twenty of the servants in India would be exceedingly happy at a prospect of being worth ten thousand pounds in ten years".[83] A newspaper reported this statement with a row of exclamation points, and declared that it "created a loud laugh".[84] Scott had been sixteen years in India; he wrote Hastings, with whom he was on confidential terms: "I am worth now above ten thousand pounds independent of an Estate of £100 a Year in Shropshire . . ".* One who returned with four thousand pounds was regarded as having amassed a modest competence.[85]

Sir John Call had been Coote's Chief Engineer; he was a most prominent Anglo-Indian. In a letter from Madras to General Richard Smith, he gives an insight into the finances of Nabobery:

> So my Friend I hear you make a very great Figure with your Fortune in England. . . . Your old Paymaster Andrew Newton managed his matters so cleverly as to make up more than 20,000£ & take his leave of us on the Weymouth in Novr. . . . I can now say I am worth 25,000£ and that my Friend is the amount of my Fortune; and I am sure I can live on the income of it in my County like a Prince. . . . My affairs are reduced all to money, & that is with the Nabob at 25% per annum.[86]

Indian rates of interest may have enabled some of the Nabobs to

*As a basis of comparison, we may take the incomes attributed by the Public Advertiser (Feb. 2nd, 1784), to 45 peers and 26 commoners, who were known to be very rich. The average for the former group is £26,000 per annum, for the latter £18,800. One peer is credited with £60,000. The list was intended to show that Pitt's government was supported by "the Landed Interest and Men of Property." Not a Nabob is named.

*Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29163. Fol. 187. Publicly Scott gave out that he had between six and seven thousand pounds.—Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser, July 28th, 1784.

live in a style disproportionate to their capital. Then too, changing conditions, even during the period of this study, must be kept in mind. In 1765, Barwell wrote to his father: "India is a sure path to competency. A moderate share of attention, and your being not quite an idiot are (in the present situation of things) ample qualities for the attainment of riches".[87] A few years later John Shore, the future Lord Teignmouth, noted a change: "The road to opulence grows daily narrower, and is more crowded with competitors. The Court of Directors are actuated with a spirit of reformation and retrenchment well seconded by Mr. Hastings."[88]

Avowed partisan as he was, Scott would hardly have dared expose himself by quoting chapter and verse inaccurately. He gave the following analysis of Anglo-Indians to the House during the debates on Pitt's India Bill:

> He now held in his hand an exact list of all the civil servants of the Company, appointed to Bengal in the last twenty-two years. This list, . . . warranted accurate, . . . proves that of 508 civil servants appointed in the last 22 years, 37 only have returned to this country; 150 have gone from whence they never can return; and according to every probable calculation, not 37 of the 321 now in Bengal, will return in the next 10 years with fortunes acquired in India; of the 37 who have returned not a man has brought home an enormous fortune; many of them less than £20,000; some of them not a shilling; nor has 1 fortune to my knowledge been rapidly acquired; and of the whole number, 2 only are members of this House. The fortunes acquired by military gentlemen who have . . . been appointed cadets or officers in Bengal, in the last 22 years are still more inconsiderable.* In that time above 1200 officers have been appointed in Bengal, but not 30 of the 1200 have returned with any fortunes at all; and two, Captain Watherston and myself, . . . sit in this House. Of this number I know only 5 who have brought home above £20,000 and many have returned with less than £5000. About 30 officers since have returned, being disabled by wounds or ill health, and have now a very bare subsistence from Lord Clive's military fund. That large fortunes have been acquired in Bengal no man will doubt; but the time is long since passed. At the 1st revolution in 1756, upon the English acquiring power in Bengal, and in consequence of the battle of Plassey, some very enormous fortunes were made. Again, in the 1st acquisition of the Duanee, when the entire government of a great kingdom devolved upon a very few English gentlemen, rapid and enormous fortunes were made by 2 or 3 of them; nor was it possible it should be otherwise. Our commanders in chief, too, in those days, Genl. Smith & Sir Robert Barker, acquired very large fortunes from the power & influence they enjoyed . . . Again, by the treaty of 1775 with the

*For the comparative value of civil and military appointments, see footnote on page 22. One thousand pounds seems a "fair price" for the former, assuming an average accumulation of £20,000.

present Vizier, the entire management of Oude fell . . . into the hands of the resident at his Court. This was naturally the source of great influence & great emolument to 2 English gentlemen not yet returned to England. . . . of all the civil servants who have gone out in the last 12 years, . . . since Mr. Hastings became governor, only 1 has returned, and that gentleman never profitted sixpence by his appointment. . . not a single gentleman . . . in the governor-general's family*, civil or military, has returned to England with any fortune, myself excepted; & I certainly did not acquire a fortune, . . . I brought with me or left behind about £7000* being all that I acquired in 16 years. . . . The fortunes acquired at Madras or Bombay are still more inconsiderable. . . . I do not suppose that 30 gentlemen who went out in or since 1762, have returned to England from both presidencies. Enormous as were the fortunes acquired at Plassey, . . . and at our acquisition of the Duanee, they did not amount to so much as was acquired by individuals here, by one of the noble lord's loans, during the late calamitous . . war.[89]

"With the hope of removing false Impressions from the Minds of the People of England", Scott published the tables upon which he based this part of his speech in The Public Advertiser*:

No. Appointed	*Year*	*Returned to England*	*In Bengal*	*Dead*
28	1762	7	4	17
14	1763	4	6	4
16	1764	5	4	7
34	1765	5	8	21
20	1766	3	5	12
3	1767	1	0	2
35	1768	4	17	14
48	1769	4	22	22
24	1770	0	14	10
33	1771	3	17	13
41	1772	0	26	15
16	1773-74	0	14	2
28	1775	0	24	4
5	1776	0	3	2
22	1777	0	20	2
24	1778	0	22	2
25	1779	1	23	1

*i. e., staff.

*Compare page 27.

*July 19th and 21st, 1784. Scott was apparently in the habit of going to Leadenhall St. for data of this kind. Among his expenses is an item: "At the India House for various services, £ 144 18s." Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29156, Fol. 409.

26	1780	0	26	0
28	1781	0	28	0
3	1782	0	3	0
35	1784	0	35	0
Totals:				
508		37	321	150

"The List of the thirty-seven who have returned home:

John Bathou.
[*A name not in the records, most probably Bathoe.*]
Isaac Sage.
Alex. Higginson.
B. S. Wright.
[*Not in the records; most probably B. G. Wright*].
Edward Babu.
[*Not in the records; most probably Baber.*]
Charles Giving.
[*Not in the records; most probably a misprint for Goring.*]
William Harwood.
Alex. Campbell.
Evan Lard.
[*Not in the records; most probably Law.*]
Edward Golding.
William Lushington.
C. W. B. Rouse.
G. Ducarell.
W. B. Martin.
T. Hinchman.
[*Most probably Henchman.*]
G. Johnstone.
T. Pattle.
W. Thackrey. (sic)
F. Baugh.
S. Hogarth.
Robert Colville.
William Bensley.
John Shakespear.
Edward Parry.
L. Darell.
Richard Freeman.
Frederick Stuart.
Charles Coxe.
Edward Smith.
Richard Griffith.
J. P. Anviot.
J. Fydell.
J. Baugh.
C. Fleetwood.
J. Caton.
[*most probably Cator.*]
H. Chandler.
G. Livius".

The names of two members of Parliament appear in this list, but none of those mentioned attained any notoriety, and most were en-

tirely unknown. Price maintained that it was gross injustice to apply the term Nabob indiscriminately as a general reproach to all who had served in India. He calls most of the Anglo-Indians "reputed" Nabobs, whose good name has been hurt by the conduct of a few "spurious" and "mushroom" Nabobs.[90] Scott, in effect, supports Price's contention, for most of those who sprang into prominence entered the service before 1762. The men who launched India upon the public imagination, and who, in turn, "did not bear their faculties very meekly"[91], were those who had sufficient seniority to profit by virgin opportunities. A contemporary defence of some of the most conspicuous among this earlier group is, therefore, particularly interesting[92]:

To shew with what an evident Partiality every Circumstance respecting the Servants of the East India Company is laid before the Public, we have only to compare the following real state of Presents received from the Indian Powers in Bengal for 15 Years back, with that published in the Report of the Select Committee.*

In that List there is not the least Mention made of the immense Sums which the Company have received by their Acquisitions, while the most trifling Sum given to those Servants who annihilated the Power of France in that Part of the World, and added those immense Kingdoms to the British Empire, are placed in the most odious Point of View.

When we consider that the East India Company allow hardly any pay to their civil Servants, when we consider the infinite exertions which were made by those Men*, the great Reverses of Fortune they suffered, the horrid black Hole! and the more horrid Massacre at Patna! the Thousands that have died, and the Loss of Constitution which has attended those who have survived, it is hardly possible to conceive how a generous People could have been so wrought up or so deluded by the late artful Conduct of the Court of Directors, as to envy such Men the small Pittance they have acquired; for in truth excepting Lord Clive, the Sums against the rest are trifling when we reflect they were dealing with Kingdoms. The fortune of Lord Clive, including the Jaghire, is undoubtedly immense, but is not his Merit great in Proportion? Let us consider the Nature of War. Let us compare the Acquisitions of his Lordship with the purer transactions on this Side the Globe. Let us remember the *Donativas* at the Havannah,* or the Contracts of Laurence Dundas, or Mr. Peter Taylor,† or the sums accumulated by John Calcraft, Esq;* or Henry Fox. They are all

*Of the House of Commons, investigating India affairs. The charges against Clive grew out of their proceedings. The "List" referred to is given in the Introduction, pp. 10-11.

*"A man had better have ten thousand pounds at the end of ten years passed in England, than twenty thousand pounds at the end of ten years passed in India, because you must compute what you *give* for money."—Johnson, Boswell, Ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1904, Vol. II, p. 300.

*See footnote on p. 22.

†Apparently a notorious commissary. See Town and Country Magazine, 1773, p. 239.

*Agent and protégé of Henry Fox. "Said to have died worth near £600,000." Pub. Ad., Aug. 28th, 1772. "A genuine German *army* Nabob," price, op.cit., p. 81.

the natural Effects of great Success and good Talents under a free Government.

Small Sums accumulated have a striking Effect on weak Minds. If we were to add the Value of all the Prizes taken by the Navy during the last War, and the War of 1740, they would amount to upward of Twenty-two Millions; yet who ever envied Lord Anson his Share in the Cappadunqa,* or Captain Sawyer his Share in the Hermione?* If Mr. Jenkinson or Mr. Walpole, or Mr. Stanley with the other Scrutineers on this Occasion, were to put down the several Sums they have received from the Public in Remittances, Contracts, Lottery Tickets, Compensations, Reversions, Embassies, etc., etc., they might make up a greater Sum amongst themselves than all the Servants of the Company have received in conquering Empires and Kingdoms, without including Miss Watts's Fortune.* Yet how will future Ages speak of Lord Clive and Charles Jenkinson!

The reply of the kettle to the pot was not distinguished for extravagant moral pretensions, but was all the more convincing for that. The Nabobs were neither brighter nor blacker than the rest of their England, although as trespassers upon the privileges of the old ruling classes they were, for a time, the easy prey of social and political blackmail. Their defenders were temperate compared to their detractors. They "readily" admitted a "large Share of Censure to be due the Servants of the Company" but in consideration of their great services they begged a cessation of "the unrestrained and insulting Reproaches so lavishly bestowed", and wished that their "Virtues" as well as their "Faults" might be remembered.[93]

Had the Nabobs lived a century later, the poets of Imperialism would have woven round them a legend, quite different, and in truth, less far removed from reality, than that which their contemporaries manufactured out of distorted Picaresque and false Classicism.[94] Whatever "calamities" the Nabobs may have brought upon England, they were not those "which Rome suffered in the declension of her Empire", nor were "Effeminacy . . . and Debility" [95] given much scope in the India of Clive and Warren Hastings. The men of Plassey and Patna were rather among the last who still possessed the secret of patriotism and piracy after the Elizabethan grand style.

In Eastbourne parish church is "a white marble monument, with the bust of a young man upon it". The inscription is as follows:

*In 1743 Anson captured a Spanish treasure galleon with a cargo valued at £500,000; in 1746 the French East India convoy yielded another £300,000.

*The total value of this prize, taken in 1762, was £544,648, of which Sawyer's share was £65,053. D. N. B.

*Alluding to the dowry which Watts' daughter received on her marriage to Jenkinson.

Sacred to the memory of Henry Lushington, eldest son of Henry Lushington, D.D., vicar of this parish, and Mary, his wife; whose singular merits, and as singular sufferings, cannot fail of endearing him to the latest posterity. At the age of sixteen, in the year 1754, he embarked for Bengal, in the service of the India Company, and, by obtaining a perfect knowledge of the Persian language,* made himself essentially useful. It is difficult to determine whether he excelled more in a civil or a military capacity; his activity in both recommended him to the notice and esteem of Lord Clive, whom with equal credit to himself, and satisfaction to his patron, he served in the different characters of secretary, interpreter, and commissary.

In the year 1756, by a melancholy revolution, he was with others to the amount of 146, forced into a dungeon at Calcutta, so small that twenty-three only escaped suffocation. He was one of the survivors, but reserved for greater misery; for by a subsequent revolution in the year 1763, he was, with 200 more, taken prisoner at Patna, and after a tedious confinement, being singled out with John Ellis and William Hay, Esq., was, by order of the Nabob Cossim Ally Rawn [sic], and under the direction of one Someroo, an apostate European, deliberately and inhumanly murdered. But while the seapoys were performing their savage office on the first-mentioned gentleman, fired with a generous indignation at the distress of his friend, he rushed upon his assassins unarmed, and, seizing one of their scimitars, killed three of them, and wounded two others, till at length, oppressed with numbers, he greatly fell. His private character was perfectly consistent with his public one. . . . His generosity towards his family was such as hardly to be equalled; his circumstances and his age considered, scarce to be exceeded. . . . His race was short (being only twenty-six years of age when he died), but truly glorious. The rising generation must admire—may they imitate—so bright an example.[96]

Remarkable were "the Pedlars" who filled "the thrones of Aurangzebe".

*The diplomatic language of India at this period.

KEY TO REFERENCES, CHAPTER I

[1] Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs, London, 1836, Vol. I, p. 66.
[2] Public Advertiser, Nov. 24, 1774.
[3] Ibid. June 12, 1773.
[4] Ibid. Dec. 2, 1772.
[5] Ibid. Sept. 13, 1774.
[6] *The Commissary* was produced in 1765.
[7] Public Advertiser, Nov. 24, 1772.
[8] Ibid. Jan. 4, 1772.
[9] Ibid. Aug. 17, 1784.
[10] Ibid. Sept. 20, 1784.
[11] Ibid. Dec. 22, 1773; Jan. 11, 1772; Sept. 5, 1772; Jan. 30, 1772; March 18, 1772; June 3, 1772; Sept. 2, 1772; Sept. 25, 1772; Jan. 6, 1773.

[12] Public Advertiser, Aug. 6, 1783.

[13] Ibid. Jan. 12, 1774.

[14] Ibid. March 31, 1773.

[15] Ibid. May 21, 1773.

[16] Ibid. March 11, 1784.

[17] Ibid. Dec. 2, 1783.

[18] Anonymous Pamphlet, Observations on Mr. Burke's Speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill, In An Address to that Gentleman, 1784, p. 2.

[19] London Chronicle, Aug. 14-17, 1784. Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser, May 24, 1784.

[20] Public Advertiser, Dec. 6, 1783.

[21] Ibid. March 30, 1772.

[22] Anonymous Pamphlet. The National Mirror. Being A Series of Essays On The Most Important Concerns; But Particularly Those of The East India Company. London, MDCCLXXI. P. 78.

[23] Public Advertiser, Jan. 16, 1773.

[24] Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser, June 28, 1784.

[25] The Memoirs of William Hickey, Vol. III. P. 284.

[26] Public Advertiser, Aug. 11, 1773.

[27] The Nabob: or, Asiatic Plunderers. A Satyrical Poem, In a Dialogue between a Friend and the Author. London: Printed for the Author; and Sold by J. Townsend in London Street. 1773. Pp. 26-27.

[28] Public Advertiser, May 14, 1773. At a Pantheon masquerade, a character dressed as Merlin distributed some "elegant lines", among which were the following:

> "When the rich realms, where Alexander toil'd,
> Shall by a Pettifogger's son be spoil'd;
> While London cits oppress the Eastern glebe,
> And pedlars fill the thrones of Aurangzebe:"

The burden of Merlin's song is, that when things in England reach the intolerable pass, of which the above is a symptom, he will "Revisit earth to save his native land". The "Pettifogger's son" is, of course, Clive.

[29] Ibid. May 7, 1772.

[30] From the Calcutta Gazette, August 16, 1784. Reprinted in Seton-Karr, Selections from the Calcutta Gazette, Vol. I, P. 204.

[31] Eyles Erwin. An Epistle To The Right Honorable George Lord Pigot, opening lines.

[32] Public Advertiser, May 7, 1772.

[33] Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser, May 7, 1784. Public Ad. March 26, 1772.

[34] Anon. Pamphlet. The National Mirror. See reference 22. P. 78.

[35] The Memoirs of William Hickey. Vol. I. P. 119.

[36] Public Ad. Dec. 25, 1783. "A Gentleman charging one of our Nabobs at Brooks's with being concerned in the Monopoly of Rice, which destroyed Half a Million of People, was answered by the great Man, that his Calculation was entirely erroneous, as the whole Number, upon a fair Enquiry, did not exceed *one Hundred and fifty Thousand, Men, Women, and Children included!*"

[37] Public Ad. March 12, 1772.

[38] Public Ad. Dec. 22, 1773.

[39] John Bull's Other Island. Act III.

[40] History of India. 3rd Ed. London, 1826. Vol. III. Pp. 149-150, footnotes.

[41] Public Ad. Dec. 17, 1784.

[42] Morning Herald & Daily Ad. July 8, 1784. London Chronicle, July 6-8, 1784.

[43] For the text of this piece, see: Vol. XI, The British Drama, pub. John Dicks, London, 1872.

[44] Pub. Ad. Nov. 13, 1784; Oct. 21, 1772.

[45] Ibid. Dec. 5, 1772.

[46] Ibid. July 31, 1772.

[47] Anon. Pamph. An Attempt to Pay Off the National Debt by Abolishing the East India Company.

[48] Warren Hastings Papers. Vol. XXVI. Add. Ms. 29157. Fol. 328-328b.

[49] Pub. Ad. Dec. 14, 1774.

[50] Ibid. March 12, 1772.

[51] See reference 28.

[52] Pub. Ad. Aug. 14, 1784. ". . . we cannot help thinking, in general, that the license given to our commanders, whether by sea or land, of making unlimited acquisitions for themselves, must be a great detriment to the service."

[53] Ibid. June 5, 1773. Oct. 11, 1774. Oct. 2, 1774. Oct. 4, 1774. Oct. 6, 1774. Oct. 10, 1774. Dec. 14, 1774. Dec. 21, 1774. Sept. 23, 1774. Aug. 30, 1783. June 18, 1772. Jan. 4, 1772. Sept. 15, 1780. Oct. 9, 1780. Sept. 18, 1772. Jan. 15, 1774. March 17, 1761. March 2, 1768. Feb. 6, 1784. Nov. 26, 1784. passim.

[54] Ibid. Sept. 8, 1773. Jan. 19, 1773. Morning Herald & Daily Ad. June 18, 1784. Public Ad. Feb. 20, 1773. Feb. 17, 1774, etc., etc.

[55] Parker's General Advertiser & Morning Intelligencer, June 8, 1784. Advertisement offering 20 guineas for obtaining for a widow "turned of forty", "a domestic employment in any of the Publick Offices."

[56] Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser, May 4, 1784.

[57] Pub. Ad. May 19, 1773.

[58] Francis Ms. No. 36. Fol. 610.

[59] Letters From The Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, The Cape of Good Hope, and The East Indies. By Mrs. Kindersley. (Penned underneath: Widow of an officer in His Majesty's Army). London, Printed for J. Nourse, In the Strand, Bookseller To His Majesty. MDCCLXXVII.

[60] Francis Ms. A. M.'s Diary. Nov. 3, 1774. For the meal time amusement of throwing bread pills, then prevalent in Bengal, see also Hickey, Vol. II, p. 137.

[61] Warren Hastings Papers. Vol. XXVIII. Add. Ms. 29159. Fol. 35. Barwell to Hastings, 12 April, 1783. "I am Sick in Contemplating such a Scene. The Livliest Imagination I do not conceive equal to a Picture of the Excesses to which Individuals proceed in their Contests for Power & Profit. India is Innocence the purest Innocence compared with Europe."

[62] Speech of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons. Quoted in the Pub. Ad. April 3, 1772.

[63] Orme Mss. Vol. 27. P. 118.

[64] Ibid. Same reference.

[65] Warren Hastings Papers. Vol. XX. Add. Ms. 29151. Scott to Hastings, Lisbon, 20th, Nov. 1781. Fol. 365.

[66] Ibid. Vol. XXI. Add. Ms. 29152. Scott to Hastings, Dec. 25, 1781. Fol. 206b.

[67] Hickey. Vol. II. P. 306 & seq.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Hickey. II. 303.

[70] Notes and Queries. 11th Series. Vol. IX. P. 30. Pub. Ad. Aug. 27, 1784.

[71] Pub. Ad. Nov. 3, 1784.

[72] The Narrative of a Gentleman long resident in India. (G. F. Grand). P. 25.

[73] Ibid. Pp. 45-47.

[74] Pub. Ad. Aug. 6-11-25, Sept. 7, 1784.

[75] Ibid. Nov. 30, 1772.

[76] Parliamentary History. Vol. XXII. Column 334.

[77] Extract from Hickey's Bengal Gazette, April 22-29, 1780, in Love's Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. III, p. 219.

[78] Hickey. II. 299.

[79] Pub. Ad. Aug. 27, 1784.

[80] Francis Ms. No. 38. A. M.'s Diary. Jan. 24, 1776.

[81] Parliamentary History. Vol. XXIV. Col. 1165, 1168.

[82] Francis Ms. No. 38. A. M.'s Diary. Feb. 12, 1776.

[83] Parl. Hist. Vol. XXIV. July 21, 1784.

[84] London Chronicle. July 20-22, 1784.

[85] Memoirs of Wm. Hickey. Vol. III, p. 327.

[86] See reference 63.

[87] Bengal: Past and Present. Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell. Vol. VIII, p. 203.

[88] Quoted in Monckton-Jones, Warren Hastings in Bengal, p. 262.

[89] Parl. Hist. Vol. XXIV. Col. 1144-1146.

[90] Price, op.cit.

[91] Pub. Ad. Nov. 13, 1784.

[92] Pub. Ad. April 26, 1773.

[93] Pub. Ad. April 10, 1772.

[94] These were the two favorite systems of abuse. Clive was sometimes "an obscure urchin", (Pub. Ad. April 11, 1772), sometimes an overshadowing villain.

[95] Public Ad. March 21, 1772. Report of John Wilkes's Speech against the India Bill, Pub. Ad., January 9, 1784.

[96] Horsfield's History of Sussex, Vol. I, p. 296.

CHAPTER II

SOME NABOB ORIGINS AND CONNECTIONS

Almost no credence is to be attached to the mythically low pedigrees which the detractors of the Nabobs often fastened upon them. The attribution of base origin to prominent persons was a common manifestation of class antagonism in an age which was watching the power of wealth dilute its purely aristocratic standards. So hackneyed did this form of mudslinging become that it was anonymously satirised in the Public Advertiser of June 19, 1773. The Writer said that, having for forty years learned history from the newspapers, he could give the following account of some great personages:

"George the First. Till possest [sic] of the Crown of these Realms, he supported a miserable life by means of a Cart and a single Horse, by which he was enabled to sell Turnips in a little Town. . . . Lord North. * * *". [A row of asterisks indicating unprintable.] "Charles Jenkinson.* We remember him very well, say my Authors, when he wore a Livery, and was sent on Errands. His Father was a Shoe-Black, and happening to find in an old Slipper a Colonel's Commission, he ever after bore it for himself, and passed for such. His great grandfather, who was a Chimney-sweeper, had the good Fortune, in Charles the Second's Time, to find amongst his Scot a Patent of Baronetage, which he appropriated to his own use, and which is likely to descend to our present Hero." The Countess of Yarmouth* is mentioned as the daughter of a Yarmouth oyster woman, and Lord Courtenay as descended from a French valet.

The type of abuse thus ridiculed was frequently indulged in toward the Nabobs. Foote's Nabob, Sir Matthew Mite, was the son of "old John and Margery Mite, at the Sow and Sausage in St. Mary Axe"; as an urchin he had been sent overseas after stealing from a tart-seller, "for fear worse should come of it".[1] The Town and Country Magazine for 1771 contains the "Memoirs of a Nabob".[2] A fictitious East Indian is held up to reprobation as "Mr. White". "The father of our present hero was a barber". He began life as a nobleman's valet, afterwards entering the service of an East India Director, who got him a Writership.

*Afterwards the 1st Earl of Liverpool.
*Hanoverian mistress of George II.

In truth, a Director would very seldom, if ever, have been so prodigal of Writerships. We have already noted[3] that in the post-Plassey period appointments to the Company's service came to be in great demand. "There is no Subject", wrote Major Scott to Hastings, "on which they [the Directors] are so jealous as that of the appointment of Writers".[4] Lord Cornwallis told the Major that since he had been known as Hastings's intended successor, "he had received above a Thousand Applications from Gentlemen who wished to accompany him to Bengal".[5] But even in earlier days we may be sure that Writerships were rarely squandered upon valets, footmen, or bootblacks.

"The young men chosen for writers", wrote a pamphleteer who defended East Indians, "were formerly selected from the middle orders of the people, such as the sons of Directors of the Company, their military and marine officers, their old servants abroad, and of merchants and capital tradesmen connected with the Company at home; latterly, numbers of writers have been taken from the higher orders of society, and some of them the sons of the nobility".[6] This was a correct general summary of the social strata from which the Company's servants were drawn.

In this chapter no attempt will be made to give an exhaustive catalogue of Nabob antecedents; we shall content ourselves with representative cross-sections of typical groups and with mention of some individuals worthy of particular notice. Moreover, it is interesting to note that a new Anglo-Indian class was taking shape; families in the Company's service, however diverse their origins, were being very often united by matrimonial alliances.

From the viewpoint of their extraction, perhaps the most important group were those connected with the old, pre-Nabob, Anglo-Indian class. Proportionately numerous and conspicuous, they were probably largely responsible for the tone of the service, its vices and virtues. Francis could say of Richard Barwell that he had "all the bad qualities common to this climate and country, of which he is in every sense a native".[7] On the other hand, there is not lacking evidence that the servants possessed a certain morale*, which must have been largely handed down by their predecessors in office.

Of the thirty Nabobs who were in Parliament between 1760 and

*Macaulay's strictures on the courage and conduct of the Bengal servants in 1756 suggest "a very false impression of what took place."—J. A. Williamson, A Short History of British Expansion, p. 374. For a detailed statement of the servants' behavior see S. C. Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. I, pp. xcv-xcvi.

1784, five were the sons of Anglo-Indians. They were Richard Barwell, William Frankland, Sir Thomas Rumbold, George Stratton, and John Walsh.

The Eastern antecedents of the Barwells went back to 1682, when one Edward Barwell was "a merchant in Bantam in the East Indies".* Richard's father, William Barwell, of the Abbey House, Chertsey, Surrey, had been Governor of Fort William in 1748 and a Director of the East India Company. William Frankland, whose brother became Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart., was the son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Fort William in 1725, and the great-grandson of Sir William Frankland, Bart. of Thirsk, Yorkshire.[8]

George Stratton's father, John, was Fifth in Council at Madras in 1742.[9] Joseph Walsh, the father of John Walsh, had been Governor of Fort St. George.[10] John Walsh's mother, Elisabeth Maskelyne, was also of an Anglo-Indian family. William Maskelyne died at Fort Marlborough, Sumatra, in 1735. His nephew, Edmund Maskelyne, was appointed to a Madras Writership, and was afterwards Aid-de-Camp to Clive, who married his sister, Margaret.[11]

Sir Thomas Rumbold's boyhood was commonly rumored to have been passed amid scenes very far removed from Oriental state. He was variously supposed to have been a fiddler at the Opera, a waiter, and even a shoeblack:

> "When Mackreth served in Arthur's crew,
> He said to Rumbold, 'Black my shoe';
> He humbly answered, 'Yea Bob',
> But when returned from India's land,
> And grown too proud to brook command,
> His stern reply was 'Na-bob'".[12]

Robert Arthur was proprietor of White's Club in St. James's Street, at which Robert Mackreth was waiter.[13] That Rumbold "commenced his career without any fortune is certain; but that he did not serve when a boy, in the menial capacity of a shoeblack in White's Club, . . . is equally certain".[14] Sir Thomas's father was William Rumbold, H. E. I. C. S., who became Second in Council at Tellicherry, where he died in 1745, when his son was eleven years

*For a complete Barwell pedigree see *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, by John Nichols. Four volumes, each in two parts, separate bindings. Volume III, part II (1804), p. 853.

old.[15] Nevertheless, there probably was some relationship between the Rumbold and Arthur families, and before going East at sixteen, "Rumbold may have been a frequent visitor at his kinsman's house".[16] It is also noteworthy that in the Resolutions of the House which attacked Sir Thomas Rumbold*, Mackreth was named as one of those in England to whom he remitted money.[17] The latter seems to have known another Governor of Madras; he sat with Robert Palk for Castle Rising in the Parliament of 1774.[18]

Besides Sir Thomas Rumbold, two other Madras Governors of this period were of "Company" extraction. Josias Du Pre, who held the Chair from 1770 to 1773, was the son of the Company's secretary.[19] John Whitehill, who was ad interim Governor before and after Rumbold in 1777 and 1780, was the son of Charles Whitehill, sometime Chief of Anjengo.[20]

The men who engineered the coups of 1757, '60, and '65, are difficult to identify, but it is probable that a number of them also came by their connection with the Company through heredity. Frankland and Walsh have been dealt with above; Governor Roger Drake was a nephew of Roger Drake, a Director.[21] William Mackett may have been a connection of Captain William Mackett, commander of the *Princess of Wales,* East Indiaman, who died in 1729.[22] Matthew Collet was presumably a member of the family of that name that had a number of Indian connections, among them a former Governor of Fort St. George.[23] George Gray, Jr., was the son of a surgeon at Fort William.[24] Charles Stafford Playdell may have been akin to Edmund Morton Playdell, Governor of Ajendo and afterward m. p. for Dorset, who died in 1754.[25] C. S. Playdell married Elizabeth, daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell.[26]

The son of a timber merchant,[27] Holwell was himself of that middle class mercantile extraction, which was, perhaps, most frequent among the Company's servants. And although "mercantile" must include persons variously circumstanced, many of the servants, even in the pre-Nabob period, belonged "to the best families in London".[28] After Plassey this would, of course, tend to be even more true.

John Shakespear's father was a London Alderman and Stepney ropemaker[29] who, perhaps, supplied the Company's ships with that commodity. Thomas Kirkman was, in all probability, a close connection of John Kirkman of Friday Street, Alderman and silk merchant,

*See p. 55.

a business which may well have carried Oriental contacts with it.[30] Gerard Gustavus Ducarell was the son of Adrian Colte Ducarell of Cloak Lane, College Hill, a Director of the South Sea Company.[31] William Byam Martin was the son of Samuel Martin of Antigua, British West Indies, but sometime of Mark Lane, and a probable connection of Matthew Martin, East India Director.[32]

British factories and affiliations in Portugal furnished some of the Company's servants. Sir Lionel Darell was a native of Lisbon, where his maternal grandfather, Humphrey Hardwicke, was a merchant and British Vice-consul.[33] Darell entered the service as a Senior Merchant in 1768; two years previously he had married Isabelle, daughter of the Director, Timothy Tullie. George Livius was the son of Peter Lewis Livius, Prussian envoy to Portugal.[34] Hall Plumer was born at Oporto, the son of Thomas Plumer, wine merchant.[35]

The Anglo-Indian relationships of some leaders of the legal profession deserve notice. Hall Plumer's younger brother became Sir Thomas Plumer, Master of the Rolls from 1812 to 1818.[36] Earlier in his career he defended Sir Thomas Rumbold before the bar of the House of Commons, and he was one of the counsel for Warren Hastings during the impeachment. Hastings's other counsel, Edward Law, afterwards the first Baron Ellenborough, and the future Chief Justice Sir Robert Dallas,[37] also had Indian connections in their respective brothers, Ewan Law and George Dallas.* Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1766-1771,[38] had a son, Robert, in the Company's service.[39] Henry, second Earl Bathurst, who as Baron Apsley was Lord Chancellor from 1771 to 1778, had two relatives, Robert Bathurst and John Scawen, in the service.[40] Solicitor-General Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, was also reputed to have Indian connections.[41]

The Law family formed one thread in a veritable little knot of Anglo-Indian alliances. Ewan Law, H.E.I.C.S., who was the son of the Rev. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, married Henrietta, daughter of William Markham, Archbishop of York, and sister of William Markham, H.E.I.C.S.[42] Two of their sons died in India[43]; Ewan Law's nephew became the first Earl of Ellenborough, Governor-General of India.[44] Joanna Law, one of Ewan's sisters, married Sir Thomas Rumbold[45]; another sister, Mary, married the Rev.

*For him see the Dictionary of National Biography.

James Stephen Lushington, a kinsman of the Henry Lushington killed at Patna, whose father was vicar of Eastbourne. Henry Lushington's sister, Charlotte, married Ralph Leycester, H.E.I.C.S.[46]

The names of twelve Lushingtons appear in the Records of Bengal Civil Servants[47]; they became a habitual Anglo-Indian family. Sir Stephen Lushington Bart. was Chairman of the Court of Directors in 1790.[48]

Among other Nabobs of clerical extraction were Thomas Henchman, Randolph and William Marriott, and W. M. Thackeray. The Henchmans' association with the Church was long established; a Humphrey Henchman was Bishop of London in 1663.[49] The Humphrey who was father of Thomas Henchman, H.E.I.C.S., was rector of Littleton, Middlesex.[50] Randolph and William Marriott were among the fourteen children of the Rev. Randolph Marriott, rector of Darfield in the West Riding of Yorkshire and Chaplain to George II, by Lady Diana Fielding, daughter of the fourth Earl of Denbigh. Their great-grandfather had been Peter Tooke, a merchant at Constantinople.[51] Two of the sons of Randolph Marriott, H.E.I.C.S., also entered the service; another married a daughter of Peregrine Treves, Postmaster-General of Bengal.[52]

William Makepeace Thackeray, grandfather of the novelist, was the sixteenth and youngest child of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Thackeray, Headmaster of Harrow School. W. M. Thackeray married Amelia Richmond Webb at Calcutta in 1776,[53] and founded "a typical family of the Bengal Civil Service in the days of John Company".[54] "They threw out branches into the sister services, military and medical, and by a network of intermarriages created for themselves a ruling connexion both in India and in the Court of Directors at home."[55] Six of W. M. Thackeray's seven sons went to India and died there.[56]

An unusual, bohemian, background was represented by Alexander Campbell, Richard Griffith, and Charles Fleetwood. Campbell had apparently been a "critical Reviewer"[57] before arriving in Bengal as a Junior Merchant in 1763.[58] Griffith's parents were novelists of some repute; his son became Sir Richard John Griffith Bart., noted civil engineer. All three generations of this family are in the Dictionary of National Biography. Charles Fleetwood, father of Charles Fleetwood, H.E.I.C.S., was at one time proprietor of Drury Lane Theatre[59]; the younger Fleetwood had acted there himself before going out to India,[60] where he acquired "a genteel fortune".[61]

In his Success, . . . there is nothing to wonder at, considering with what unusual Force of Recommendation he went out; for living in Habits of Intimacy with Sir Francis Delaval and the Duke of York, his Cause obtained the Patronage of a certain Great Personage, who with her own Hand wrote in Mr. Fleetwood's Favour to Sir George Colebrooke*,—then, by the bye, in fuller Plentitude of Power and Patronage, than any Monarch now in Europe. —Mr. Hogarth, another Name in the same lucky List* is not, as has been said, the Son of the Painter, but of the Apothecary in St. James's Parish.[62]

The Company's service may sometimes have formed a convenient career for the illegitimate children of prominent persons. Major Charles Marsac, whose purchase of Caversham attracted so much attention, was rumored to have been a son of George II.[63] In one of his letters to Hastings, Major Scott recommends "Mr. Smith", a son of Alderman John Wilkes, who had gone out as a cadet.[64] Among the other young Writers who sailed with Thackeray on the *Lord Camden* in 1766 was one Robert Ray, who died on the voyage. He was generally thought to have been "the son of Lord Sandwich and the celebrated Miss Ray".[65] Ray believed that his father had given Robert Jones,* the Director, who appointed him, a parliamentary seat for Huntington in return.[66]

Clive himself came of a family of impoverished gentry, "with a long pedigree, but a short rent roll",[67] and some other conspicuous Nabobs came out of a similar social environment. Sir Robert Palk's family were said to have been possessed of Ambrooke, Devon, in the reign of Henry VII.[68] Sir John Call was "descended from a very ancient, but latterly not very opulent" West Country family, who suffered severely by their attachment to Charles I.[69] The Shropshire estate to which Major Scott succeeded was "a very inconsiderable one",[70] but his family had been settled in the County since the Sixteenth Century and their Kentish pedigree went still further back.[71] Scott's three brothers and a cousin, Captain Edward Sandford, were all also H.E.I.C.S.[72] The Major's son, Edward Scott, became a distinguished Bengal civil servant.[73]

Members of the ruling class who went to the India of the Nabobs are easily named. Charles Hippisley Coxe came of a well known Somersetshire family and was a brother of Richard Hippisley Coxe,

*Chairman of the Court of Directors.

*See "Scott's Thirty-seven" on page 30.

*Jones did endorse Ray's Writers' Petition, although the birth certificate which accompanies it declares him to have been born at Cookham, Berks, the son of Richard and Mary Ray.—India Office, Writers Petitions, Vol. 6 (1765), No. 52.

m.p. for the County.[74] Charles Goring of a Sussex family was a grandson of Sir Harry Goring, baronet and m.p.[75] The father of Humphrey Ashley Sturt and Thomas Lenox Napier Sturt* was m.p. for Dorsetshire and reputed to have fourteen thousand a year.[76] C. W. B. Rouse was a kinsman of the Rouses of Rouse Lench, Worcestershire, and inherited the estate.[77]

Arthur Vansittart, brother of Henry and George Vansittart, sat in Parliament for Berkshire from 1757 to 1764.[78] Their sister, Anne, married Sir Robert Palk.[79] Henry Vansittart married Amelia, daughter of Nicholas Morse, Governor of Madras. Their son, Nicholas, first Baron Bexley, became Chancellor of the Exchequer.[80]

The Hon. Edward Monckton was the fifth son of the first Viscount Galway.[81] He married Sophia, an illegitimate daughter of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras. Their son, Claude Monckton, H.E.I.C.S., died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1814.[82] Edward Monckton's sister, Elizabeth, became the second wife of Sir Francis Sykes.[83]

Sykes was a Nabob whose enemies apostrophised him as the:

> "Worthy offspring of a barber,
> Squeez'd twixt powder-puffs and lather!"[84]

Another story said that he had started life as a footman to the Lascelles's in Yorkshire.[85] Sykes was a Yorkshireman; he was born at Thornhill, near Dewsbury, perhaps of old yeoman stock.* It is highly probable that his origin was not at all commensurate with the position which he subsequently attained, but it is just as unlikely that it was as grotesquely low as pretended by his enemies.

Paul Benfield was said to have been born about 1740 in Gloucestershire,[86] where, according to one report, his father was a country shopkeeper,[87] and according to another, a landsurveyor at Cheltenham.[88] He may have combined both pursuits. Neither story is of the obvi-

*T. L. N. Sturt had incurred the paternal displeasure for having made an imprudent "though not disgraceful" marriage with Jeannette, daughter of Andrew Wilson, M.D.—Compare W. H. P., Add. Ms. 29158, fol. 306, Archbishop of York to Hastings, Feb. 24, 1783, with Burke's Peerage, 1925, under Alington.

*The Rev. H. T. Hayman, Rector of Thornhill, kindly looked up the Parish Register for me, and found that Francis, son of John Sykes, was baptised Feb. 26, 1732. Mr. Hayman furthermore wrote me that the Sykes's were an old yeoman family, "who for some years rented Huntingley Farm in this Parish. One of them was there when I first came to Thornhill in 1907." The only doubt that could be cast on the date of baptism is in *Suckling's Antique and Armorial Collections*, Add. Ms. 18490, p. 116, which gives the inscription on Sykes's tomb at Basildon as recording his birth on May 22, 1730. This would, of course, leave an unusually long interval between birth and baptism. G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, gives the date of baptism as Feb. 25, 1732.

ously malicious variety, and there apparently was a Benfield family at Cheltenham.*

One need not take seriously the widespread story that General Richard Smith was the son of a cheesemonger,[89] but information concerning his parentage is completely lacking. It may, indeed, have been lower than reputed, although less adapted to humorous anecdotes. Richard Smith was a lieutenant on the Madras establishment in 1753,[90] at which period many of the Company's officers were still made by promotion from the ranks. Objection was raised in Parliament to giving men of such low origin the powers of the Mutiny Act. One speaker stated that one of the officers had been "trumpeter to a raree shew" in London and another a "shave for a penny barber".[91]

The upper ranks of society were coming to be more and more strongly represented, but in general, we may say that the bulk of the Company's servants at this period represented neither the top nor the bottom. They had their roots in lesser manor houses, in country parsonages, and above all, perhaps, in the London whose sound commercial class were equally hardheaded, whether in the fogblown streets of their native city or in the East and West Indies.

*"Yesterday morning was married at St. Edmund's the King, Lombard Street, Mr. Evans, of the Island of Jamaica, Merchant, to Miss Elizabeth Benfield of Cheltenham, Gloucestershire."—Public Advertiser, Sept. 1, 1772.

KEY TO REFERENCES, CHAPTER II

[1] The Nabob, Act II.

[2] Town and Country Magazine, 1771, pp. 28-30 and 68-70.

[3] Introduction, p. 13.

[4] W. H. P., Add. Ms. 29163, fol. 424. Scott to Hastings, 14 May, 1784.

[5] Ibid, Add. Ms. 29157, fol. 344b. Scott to Hastings, "Private", 1 January, 1783.

[6] Price, Joseph: The Saddle Put On The Right Horse; or, an Enquiry Into The Reason Why Certain Persons Have Been Denominated Nabobs, p. 16.

[7] Quoted under Barwell, Richard in the Dictionary of National Biography.

[8] Horsfield, T. W.: The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex. II, 203. Gentleman's Magazine, 1805, p. 1242.

[9] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921.

[10] D. N. B.

[11] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921, under Story-Maskelyne of Basset Down (Wilts).

[12] Cussans, J. E.: History of Hertfordshire, II, 171.

[13] Ibid, p. 171, footnote. D. N. B., under Mackreth, Robert.

[14] History of Hertfordshire (Cussans), p. 170 & seq.; p. 171, footnote.
[15] D. N. B., under Rumbold, Sir Thomas.
[16] Cussans, op.cit., II, 171, footnote.
[17] Parliamentary History, vol. 22, col. 1323.
[18] Parliamentary Return.
[19] Palk Manuscripts, published by the Historical Mss. Commission, edited by Col. H. D. Love. P. 30, note 1.
[20] Wright and Sclater's Sterne's Eliza.
[21] Hill, S. C.: Bengal In 1756-57, III, 440, (Index).
[22] Historical Register Chronicle, 1729, p. 21.
[23] Records of Bengal Civilians; Historical Register Chronicle, 1725, p. 31; Gentleman's Magazine, 1743, p. 218; 1746, p. 272.
[24] I. O., Writers Petitions, 1754, no. 16, vol. 2.
[25] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921.
[26] Palk Mss., p. 252, note 4.
[27] Asiatic Annual Register, vol. I, 1799, p. 25 under "Characters".
[28] Hill, op. cit., vol. I, p. ci.
[29] I. O., Writers Petitions, vol. 6, 1765-66, no. 15. Beaven, A. B.: The Aldermen of the City of London, II, 133.
[30] Kirkman was the son of Joseph Kirkman of the Parish of St. Matthew, Friday Street.—Writ. Pet., 1766. The London Trade Guide for 1749 gives "Kirkman and Howard, Friday-street", "Kirkman, Joseph, ditto". In 1752 the firm becomes "Kirkman Jos. & Co., Friday-street", in 1760, "John Kirkman & Co., Friday-street". In 1768 the Guide gives "Kirkman & Williams, silkmen, 4 Friday str." and "Kirkman John, silk m. 21 Col. Hill". For John Kirkman see also Beaven, op.cit., II, 133.
[31] I. O., Writ. Pet., vol. 5, 1764, no. 20. London Trade Guide, 1744, pp. 115, 138.
[32] I. O., Writ. Pet., vol. 5, 1764, no. 13. Gentleman's Mag., 1806, p. 388.
[33] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage. Records of Bengal Civilians.
[34] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1850, supplement.
[35] I. O., Writ. Pet., vol. 6a, 1768, no. 37. D. N. B., under Plumer, Sir Thomas.
[36] D. N. B. Statement that Thomas Plumer was "eldest" son is incorrect. Hall was born in 1751; Thomas in 1753. See also Gent. Mag., 1820, p. 475.
[37] I. O., Writ. Pet., vol. 5, 1763, no. 1, for Ewan Law; D. N. B. for Lord Ellenborough. Both Dallas's are in the D. N. B.
[38] D. N. B.
[39] I. O., Writ. Pet., vol. 5, 1763-64, no. 11. Records of Bengal Civilians.
[40] See p. 50, footnote.
[41] See p. 58, footnote.
[42] Berry's Sussex Genealogies; Parker's General Ad. & Morning Intelligencer, June 30, 1784.
[43] Berry, op.cit.; Bengal: Past and Present, vol. III, 1909, p. 370.
[44] D. N. B.
[45] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage.
[46] Berry's Sussex Pedigrees; Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921, under Leycester. Hasted's Kent, II, 594.

[47] Records of Bengal Civilians.
[48] List of Chairmen in Prinsep's Madras Civilians.
[49] Notes & Queries, 3rd Series, III, 256; Hutchins' Dorset, II, 831.
[50] I. O., Writ. Pet., vol. 5, 1764, no. 15.
[51 52] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1851, 1921.
[53] Hunter, Sir W. W.: The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves, pp. 66-67; p. 105.
[54] Ibid, pp. 64-65.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid, passim; see the separate account given of each of W. M. Thackeray's sons.
[57] Pub. Ad., July 18, 1772.
[58] I. O., Records of Bengal Civilians.
[59] Compare Pub. Ad., July 26, 1784, with Carl Mantzius's History of Theatrical Art in Ancient and Modern Times, vol. V, p. 365. Also Gent. Mag., 1779, p. 171, footnote, and 1807, p. 184.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Pub. Ad., July 26, 1784.
[63] Notes and Queries, 11th Series, vol. XI, p. 115.
[64] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29157, fol. 5. Scott to Hastings, Nov. 18, 1782.
[65] Hunter, op.cit., p. 68. Also G. F. Grand's Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.
[66] Grand, op.cit.
[67] Forrest's Clive, vol. I, p. 2.
[68] D. N. B.
[69] Betham's Baronetage, vol. 4, p. 227.
[70] Pub. Ad., July 29, 1784.
[71] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921.
[72] Burke, op.cit., D. N. B. For Captain Sandford, Gent. Mag., 1791, p. 779.
[73] D. N. B., under Scott, John.
[74] I. O., Writ. Pet., 1768, vol. 6a, no. 2. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921.
[75] Cartwright, Edmund: The Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber, in the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. II, part II, pp. 132-133. (Part of Dallaway and Cartwright's History of Sussex).
[76] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29158 fol. 306. Archbishop of York to Hastings, Feb. 24, 1783.
[77] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage. Victoria History of Worcestershire III, p. 499.
[78] Berry's Bucks Pedigrees, under Bexley. Parliamentary Return.
[79] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage.
[80] D. N. B.
[81] I. O. Writ. Pet., vol. 4, 1761, no. 11.
[82] Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921; Gent. Mag., 1814, p. 603.
[83] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage.
[84] The East India Culprits. A Poem. In Imitation of Swift's Legion Club.

(By an Officer, who was present at the Battle of Plassey.) Printed for G. Kearsly, No. 46 Fleet-Street, 1773.

[85] Grand's Narrative, p. 44.

[86] Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs, I, 263.

[87] Cussan's Hertfordshire, II, 171.

[88] Wraxall, op.cit., I, 263.

[89] Memoirs of William Hickey, I, 239 & seq.

[90] Palk Mss., p. 113, footnote.

[91] Parliamentary History, vol. XV, col. 264.

CHAPTER III

THE NABOBS IN POLITICS

Membership in the House of Commons early became a goal of rich Nabobs. In 1768 a humorist wrote of an imaginary organization: "The Terms of Admission into your Society are too severe to be complied with, though I were as anxious for becoming a member as the British Nabobs are for a Seat in Parliament".[1] Mingled motives impelled the Nabob to desire a seat. His natural ambition for power and distinction was supplemented by more practical considerations. His interest in the Company did not end with his retirement. In India and at Leadenhall Street he still had friends to help and foes to hinder; he had a fortune to protect. At Westminster could be met all whose votes and dinners were most worth having or whose hostility was most to be feared. Parliament offered the unique advantages of Tammany Hall plus a first rate club.

Access to these advantages had hitherto been the privilege of the governing class. They had almost come to regard the conventions of corruption by which they maintained themselves in power as conventions of the Constitution itself. The Nabobs and their fellow parvenus paid no heed to these conventions. They bought Parliamentary seats as they would have bought any other commodity, on a purely economic basis, without regard for the respect traditionally due local or family connections. They were of the type whom Cavendish characterised as "adventurers, men who having no personal interest anywhere go about canvassing from borough to borough with their pockets full of money",[2] whom Chatham denounced as having "forced their way into Parliament by such a torrent of private corruption as no privately hereditary fortune could resist",[3] and who moved Walpole to write that "corruption now stands upon its own legs".[4] Gullible New Rich, eager to get into Parliament, became the easy prey of swindlers who pretended to have seats at their command. "An East India Gentleman" who had suffered at the hands of these gentry inserted, in the *Public Advertiser* of January 15, 1784, "A Caution to the Public . . . against the Artifices of such pretended Agents. He and his Friends were imposed upon by Persons at Oxford, at a Borough in Sussex, and at several in the West, in all which places they found a Minority".

Had all the Nabobs been as guileless and benevolent as the above East Indian, they would not have made many enemies in politics. But although comparatively few of the 558 seats were ever held by them, they yet aroused hostility disproportionate to their numbers. Specifically, they were vulnerable because they were often identified with the rottenest boroughs, and because in the House they were believed particularly susceptible to corrupt influences and unsavoury intrigues.

What were the rottenest boroughs? We are no longer skilled in the nice distinctions of corruption. Before the ideas which resulted in the Great Reform Bill were fully accepted, conservative opinion judged the rottenness of a borough not so much by its lack of independence or inhabitants, as by the brazenness of its venality. A pocket borough was not necessarily a rotten borough. Constituencies under a patron or proprietor, who was discreet, and not too mercenary, were comparatively respectable. Their members were returned by a process much more genteel and not more dishonest than was to be found in many of the places which were independent, for independence was very far from connoting purity. A "free" election was too often a public auction, to which private sale, under restrictive covenants, was preferable. The limited franchise worked so badly that manhood suffrage was not unnaturally dreaded by some as a scheme which would only result in worse "Riot, Confusion, and Villainy".[5]

Thus he who was quietly brought in under aristocratic auspices might be proud of it. In 1784 Major Scott came in for West Looe, Cornwall. His election cost Warren Hastings 4000 pounds, which was paid to John Buller, the proprietor, a nephew of Lord Bathurst.*[6]

West Looe was, apparently, a typically decrepit Cornish borough.[7] That, however, did not make it "rotten" in the eyes of either buyer or seller. When the Treasury attempted to induce Scott to select another constituency, Bathurst replied that it would not become him to be returned for a "rotten borough", and that he wanted it "publickly avowed to the World" that Scott had entered Parliament "under his Patronage and Protection". The Major, on his part, was glad that secrecy enshrouded the financial end of the transaction, but he felt proud to represent even a few hovels in the selection of whose mem-

*Robert Bathurst and John Scawen, relatives of Lord Bathurst, were in the Company's service in India.—Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29155, Fol. 226b; Add. Ms. 29158, Fol. 196. John Buller, proprietor of West Looe in 1792, is described by Oldfield as "at present in the East Indies". —History of the Boroughs of Great Britain, Vol. I, p. 175.

ber Lord Bathurst was known to be the dominating influence.[8] Lord Mansfield, too, approved of "the honorable & distinguished Manner" in which Scott was brought into the House of Commons.[9]

With this as a background for comparison we may instance a few Nabobs who entered Parliament by methods which completely disregarded the recognised etiquette of bribery and influence, and contributed towards making the Nabob in politics stand out as a notoriously scandalous figure. Among the most disreputable boroughs were Hindon and Cricklade (Wilts), New Shoreham (Sussex) and Shaftesbury (Dorset). Nabobs tried their fortunes at all four.

General Richard Smith made his Parliamentary debut by getting himself elected for Hindon in 1774. Five days afterwards the Public Advertiser reported that the flagrant bribery which had been practised would doubtless cause the General to lose his seat.[10] For him there had been no quiet and secret preparations in advance. The Nabob had simply gone to the Market Cross of the town, proclaimed his candidacy, and promised that every man who voted for him would receive five guineas. Then, in 1776, while the long drawn out legal proceedings against him were pending, the General again secured his return for the same borough by methods deemed likewise not above suspicion. For this, Justice Aston not only sentenced him to six months in jail and to pay a fine of 666 pounds, but, in addition, compelled him to give sureties of 1500 pounds for good behaviour during the next three years.[11] While in confinement, the General "manifested the wealth, generosity, and princely spirit of a Nabob, as far as splendid living went in a prison, with every liberality to his fellow sufferers".[12]

Sir Robert Fletcher, an officer of the East India Company's army, was elected for Cricklade in 1768. At that time it was not yet notorious, but between 1774 and 1780 the validity of the successful candidate's return was thrice petitioned against in Parliament, as having been improperly obtained. The last petition arose out of the election of Paul Benfield and a fellow Indian, John Macpherson, "Mr. Macpherson by a large Majority, and Mr. Benfield by the unanimous Suffrages of the whole Borough, consisting of 204 Voters".[13] The defeated candidate alleged gross bribery, threats, and treating. Benfield was declared duly elected, but Macpherson was unseated, and a Bill that completely changed the franchise for Cricklade was passed.[14]

Sir Thomas Rumbold first entered Parliament for New Shoreham in 1770, on the death of Vice Admiral Sir Samuel Cornish, who had made a fortune out of his East Indian command.[15] New Shoreham was the borough which, a year after Rumbold's election, became conspicuous by the exposure of its "Christian Club". This was an ostensibly benevolent society to which the majority of the voters belonged. In reality, it was a junto that regularly sold the seats to the highest bidder. The members of the Christian Club were disfranchised by Act of Parliament, and every forty shilling freeholder in the Rape of Bramber was given a right to vote at the election of members for New Shoreham.[16] This latter provision was similar to what had been done at Cricklade.[17]

At the General Election of 1774 Rumbold and Sir Francis Sykes, also a Nabob, were returned for Shaftesbury. The defeated candidate petitioned. Testimony was given that Sykes and Rumbold had distributed several thousand pounds at twenty guineas a vote. The actual disbursers of the bribes were chiefly local magistrates, who adopted strange disguises to conceal their identity. Mr. Matthews, an alderman, dressed as "Punch", handed the twenty guinea parcels through a hole in a door. In another room, "Punch's Secretary" made the recipients of the money sign for "value received". The two Nabobs were declared not duly elected, and the House ordered the Attorney General to prosecute them for suborning "corrupt and wilful perjury". The criminal prosecution was dropped, but in July, 1776, the petitioner, H. W. Mortimer, sued Sykes at Dorchester assizes, and received a verdict for 11,000 pounds damages.[18] Shaftesbury became a borough with a long Nabob succession. Sykes was again returned for it in 1780, Rumbold canvassed it in 1784,[19] Wraxall says that Benfield bought it in 1790,[20] and Oldfield describes it as being, in 1792, under the influence of Sir John Call.[21]

There exists a vivid and diverting picture of the Worcester by-election of 1773 which illustrates the Nabob electioneering on a larger scale than in such boroughs as the above. On the death of Henry Crabb Boulton, a Director of the East India Company, who had sat for Worcester City, Clive supported Thomas Bates Rous for the vacant seat. Rous had been captain of an Indiaman, a Director, and was a large holder of India Stock.[22]

Opposed to Rous was a "Mr. Kelly", who at first appeared to have the advantage. The friends of the former, however, boasted that as

their candidate "is supported by Lord Clive, he will spend 10,000 pounds or carry his Election".[23] Such language excited resentment:

> The Nabobs, who think every Thing is to be had for Money, shall, . . . repent the insolent Declaration of what they will spend to get Possession of our Seat in Parliament. . . . Mr. Rous shall see that neither his 10,000 pounds, nor his Patron's Four Millions, can render us a moment unmindful of what we owe to our own Honour, to our Country, and to our Posterity.[24]

Notwithstanding these brave words, the contest soon became a competition of expense, in which Kelly was badly worsted. He wanted to withdraw, but even that was not easily done. The mob knew that were the result no longer in doubt, there would be an end to the good things which were being so plentifully dispensed. They therefore stationed guards at the turnpikes to prevent Kelly from leaving town, attempted to throw his coach into the Severn, and rioted before his lodgings during the night.

> He was obliged to get up four times . . . and throw Money to them. His Coach, which is much damaged, went privately off this Morning at Five o'Clock, and I apprehend if Mrs. K. is well enough, they will get privately away this Evening, as they expected to have been murdered on Thursday Night last, and Mrs. K. has been in Fits almost ever since; I hope my next will be more favourable.[25]

Kelly's place was taken by Sir Watkin Lewes, a City magnate, less obliged to rely on Worcester's attachment to "honour". He, too, was unsuccessful; a comparison of the vote for each day shows an interesting sequence of figures:[26]

	Rous.	*Lewes.*
Monday, November 15th	51	60
Tuesday, 16th	44	43
Wednesday, 17th	100	100
Thursday, 18th	83	83
Friday, 19th	63	63
Saturday, 20th	87	87
Monday, 22nd	103	103
Tuesday, 23rd	146	46
Wednesday, 24th	176	26
Thursday, 25th	47	24
	900	635

At the General Election of 1774 Lewes was again defeated at Worcester by Rous and John Walsh, the latter a Nabob and one of Clive's henchmen. This did not prevent him from being chaired to the strains of "See the legal Member come",[27]—a pointed allusion to the alleged corrupt practices of his opponents, who had, he charged, sworn in hundreds of voters, some lame and infirm, as paid special constables.[28] To Sir Watkin's chair was affixed an inscription reading that "it was made in virtuous days, before Luxury, Corruption, and the Treasure of the East, had vitiated the Hearts of Men". As for Clive, the populace burnt him in effigy with the label: "Thus may every Peer of the Realm be served who infringes the Rights of the People."[29]

Once in Parliament, most of the Nabobs were not individually conspicuous. For the first part of the period, they seem to have been strongly inclined toward political independence,[30] and later on, before the General Election of 1784, we shall see that they were fairly evenly divided between the Fox-North Coalition and the Opposition. Nevertheless, the storms amid which they had gained their seats were, in some measure, continued during their careers in the House. They were attacked as a general source of corruption. It was believed that, as they had been guilty of misconduct in India, they were the ready victims of political blackmail; kept in subjection by "a hint . . . that they might be squeezed" or rewarded if useful to the minister.[31] Burke said that the Nabob returned to England "as to a prison, or as to a sanctuary . . . according to his demeanor".[32] "Nabob-hunting" was jocularly referred to as one way of getting money.[33] Or, on the other hand, the Nabobs' wealth might be regarded as enabling them to build up a menacingly powerful interest.

General Richard Smith, Benfield, Rumbold, Clive, and Sykes—all previously mentioned for their electioneering notoriety—were, again, objects of more or less unpleasant prominence in the House, although the scandal spread about the first named was scarcely more than backstairs gossip. Smith's support of the Coalition Ministry was said to have been due to his gaming losses; Charles Fox had won so much of his money that he was compelled to look to those in power for another Indian appointment.[34]

Probably the greatest Parliamentary patronage ever attributed to a Nabob was that referred to by Burke when he asserted that Benfield had brought in eight members in 1780.[35] Another speaker was not so

positive: "It was said, and he believed with some truth, that at this moment the nabob of Arcot had between seven and eight members in that House devoted to his service, and who were to support the minister, if the minister befriended him."[36]* This is in accord with Wraxall's explanation that the number was originally put at seven, and that Burke later increased it to eight, which was "altogether exaggerated", as Benfield only "brought in two friends".[37] Wraxall was probably close enough to Benfield to have accurate information.[38] Scott gave possible evidence to the contrary when he wrote Hastings: "In all our struggles at the India House & at Westminster, we have received every possible Support & Assistance from the Friends of Mr. Benfield, . . . & they are so numerous, & of so much Consequence that their Efforts in favour of your Cause have been of very essential Service."[39] Political friends would not necessarily be patron's dummies, and indeed, the phrase "of so much Consequence" seems rather to imply that they were not.

Coming to Sir Thomas Rumbold, we are on firmer ground. His case stood out as one which did present some plausible appearance of "Nabob-hunting". Rumbold was accused of having, while Governor of Madras, let out the lands of the Presidency with too great an eye to his personal profit, and of having provoked the war with Hyder Ali.[40] Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, led the attack. In 1782 Rumbold was restrained from leaving the Kingdom, and his fortune sequestrated.[41]

Soon, however, the Lord Advocate began to change his key. In May, 1783, he complained that the very thin attendance whenever the Bill against Rumbold was brought up indicated waning interest.[42] One month later he declared that nothing more could be done until the evidence for the defence had been printed, which would take all the remaining time of the Session. Nevertheless, he proposed to extend the duration of the Bill restraining Sir Thomas from quitting the Kingdom.[43]

Then "Sir T. Rumbold made a most pathetic speech, . . . He described his sufferings in strong terms, and very affectingly alluded

*The Nabob of Arcot was the puppet of the Madras government. He was deeply in debt to a local clique, principal among whom was Benfield. The loyalty of the Rajah of Tanjore to the Company having been proven questionable, the Nabob's creditors seized the opportunity to have Tanjore annexed, in the name of their debtor. It then became available as security for more loans by them. Long and bitter controversy ensued, during which Burke took the part of the despoiled Rajah, whose agent was his kinsman, William Burke.

to the manner in which Mr. Burke had treated him in that House. . . . He said, if that gentleman had visited his house, as he had been known to visit that of other people, he would at times have witnessed scenes that would have touched his feelings and shocked his sensibility".[44]

Mr. Burke, after pointing out that Sir Thomas "had the kingdom to range in", ended by showing that his "sensibility" had not been overestimated. He "declared he felt extremely for the Hon. baronet, who had shewn uncommon fortitude throughout the progress of the business, and thrown himself as fairly on the candour of the House as any man could have done."[45]

Whereupon the Hon. Baronet rose again, and explained how the British Isles were durance vile for him: "His health had been much injured by his mind being hurt, and his physicians had recommended the air of the continent which he was not at liberty to accept."[46] So the Bill which the Advocate brought in next day tied up Rumbold's real property only, and lifted all restrictions on his personal freedom.[47] Eventually the entire action came to nothing.

The British public refused to believe that the enmity of Rumbold's foes had not been mollified with something more substantial than exhibitions of Parliamentary pathos. Wraxall attributes Rumbold's escape to the interposition of Richard Rigby, and this was the general opinion.[48] As a former Paymaster, Rigby owed large balances of public money which were coming due. In return for his services as go-between, Rumbold was believed to have eased his pecuniary embarrassments. Scott wrote Hastings that the Advocate of Scotland had "been softened with regard to Sir Thomas Rumbold, or rather I should say bribed. This I know, that two Men of great Weight & Influence were with the Advocate on the Part of Sir Thomas. . . . This entirely agrees with the patriotic Mr. Burke's Declarations upon all Occasions lately that Sir Thomas Rumbold to be sure was culpable . . . but in a very small degree when compared with Mr. Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey or Mr. Sullivan*".[49]

Burke very possibly took Rumbold for his model when, describing the influence which the Nabobs had established in England, he said: "They marry into your families; they enter into your Senate; they ease your estates by loans; . . . they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy on your patronage . . ."[50] Rumbold's

*Laurence Sulivan, leader of the Hastings party in the Court of Directors.

daughter, Frances, married Rigby's nephew,[51] his own father-in-law was the Bishop of Carlisle,[52] and in 1784 his "Indian" brother-in-law married a daughter of the Archbishop of York, whose son was also in the Company's service.[53]

In 1772 and 1773 the Nabobs were a main focus of parliamentary attention. On March 30, 1772, Laurence Sulivan, who led the party in the Company hostile to Clive, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the Company's affairs. Sulivan's Bill itself never became law, but Clive's enemies made the debates which it occasioned their opportunity to prefer serious charges against him. Thereupon Colonel Burgoyne moved for a Select Committee which was to conduct an ostensibly impartial investigation of India affairs. This Committee, with Burgoyne as Chairman, was duly created; among its thirty other members were Clive, his former secretary, Henry Strachey, and Commodore George Johnstone. The last named was a bitter foe of Clive, who had dismissed his brother, John Johnstone, from the Company's service in 1764. On Johnstone's proposal the Committee decided to investigate the conduct of all who had profited by the disturbances in Bengal, beginning with the dethronement of Siraj-uddaula in 1757.

The final Report of the Committee, which was made in May, 1772, was followed, a year later, by Burgoyne's resolutions to the effect that Clive had acquired his fortune wrongfully and to the detriment of the state. Meantime, however, the Report with its detailed statement of the profits made by Clive and the others who had established British dominion in Bengal, reverberated far beyond the walls of Parliament. It brought India and the Nabobs into unprecedented prominence. "The good People of England" were "so intent on baiting Lord Clive" [54] that other matter was almost completely excluded from the controversial columns of the press. "Junius Asiaticus", "Red Treaty", "Black Treaty", "Bramin" [55] took their place as signatures beside such tried favorites as "Aristides" or "Publius".

There was some suspicion that the Parliamentary attack was, in its origins, not so much an expression of outraged virtue as the cloak for an attempt to render the Nabobs harmless. Why were actions done between 1757 and 1765 not seriously questioned until 1772? Partly, no doubt, because of a desire to find scapegoats for the serious condition into which the Company's finances had fallen; as a crude source of wealth India was a disappointment. But the greatly in-

creased number in which the Nabobs came into the Parliament of 1768 may also have had something to do with this belated outburst of indignation.

> The Gentlemen who have returned from India for some years past, have acquired such an Independence from their Wealth, . . . that they were become exceedingly formidable, and might perhaps have overturned the System of the House. This makes it absolutely necessary to SQUEEZE them; when they are reduced to a Level with the common Run of Country Gentlemen we are sure of having our Share of them.[56]

Clive was thought to have been particularly marked out for vengeance because he had given important support to Wilkes.[57] His course had been tortuous; when in 1763 "Number 45" of Wilkes's *North Briton* was branded a seditious libel he voted with the majority, although conditioning his further support on the promise of an English peerage.[58] Possibly because the negotiations on this head were unsatisfactory, possibly as a follower of George Grenville,[59] who supported Wilkes, he afterwards swung sharply around on the question of permitting Wilkes to take the seat to which Middlesex had elected him, but which the majority of the House of Commons refused to allow him to occupy. Clive and Strachey were among the seventy-two members of the minority who toasted the "Rights of Electors" at the stirring Thatched House Tavern dinner, and it was Clive who gave Wedderburn another seat, in place of the one which his allegiance to the cause, in opposition to the views of his patron, compelled him to resign.[60]

There is, however, no corroborative evidence to support the assertion that Clive's activities in this affair formed the motive of the attack upon him. The bulk of the Opposition voted for Clive,[61] but "the matter was not made a party question".[62] Burke defended him; Fox and Barré attacked him.[63] The Court Party were divided. Attorney General Thurlow was one of Clive's chief assailants but his champion was Solicitor General Wedderburn.[64] The latter's defence seems to have carried great weight.[65] Manning and Bray, in their History of Surrey, state that Clive rewarded Wedderburn by presenting to him Mitcham Grove, a "pleasant house", in the County.* [66]

Mystified contemporaries tried variously to explain the "confusion

*The Public Advertiser of August 25, 1772, declared that Wedderburn had Indian connections of his own. I have been unable to definitely identify them. The same paper for May 14, 1773, reports a General "Wedderburne" as having been killed in operations against the "Narcot of Goreech". An Ensign Wedderburne perished in the Black Hole. See Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757.

of parties" and the subsequent exculpation of Clive. A theory may be pieced together as follows: North finally voted against Clive,[67] but at first seemed to be for him.[68] This determined a great number of the Rockingham party to range themselves with Clive's enemies from sheer factiousness.[69] As soon, however, as North's ultimate stand became known, a majority of the Opposition were willing to change correspondingly, and Burke, as mediator, brought them over to Clive.[70] When Fox, in 1781, declared in the House that the vote which North cast against Clive was not sincere,[71] he made the story of the Minister's apparent indecision more plausible. Fox pointed out that Clive soon received a Lord Lieutenancy, and that after having "been in the habit of opposing administration" he then "brought all his connections with him, to vote for them ever afterwards".[72]

Among the others named with Clive in the Report of the Committee of the House,* Sykes seems to have been second in unpopularity. His name was linked with the so-called "matoot", a supposedly extortionate tax by which he was said to have gained some 60,000 rupees, and he was even called "Squire Matoot".[73]

Not until ten years later, in 1783-1784, did the Company and its servants again occupy so important a place in the public eye. Then the Lord's rejection of Fox's India Bill, the resignation of the Coalition Ministry, the accession of Pitt, and the General Election of 1784, all swept India affairs into the main current of English politics.

That provision of Fox's Bill which would have transferred Indian political power and patronage to a board of seven Directors, appointed at first by Parliament and later by the Crown, excited the bitter hostility of the dominant element in the Company, which thus exerted the weight of its influence against the Coalition. We now know that the Company's machinations were largely responsible for what was, until recently, regarded as the wave of popular enthusiasm which carried Pitt into full power at the General Election of 1784.[74] The Dissolution was decided upon after a conference in which Richard Atkinson, who led the Company's opposition to the Coalition, met with Dundas, Pitt, and John Robinson, the Treasury's political wire-puller, at Dundas's house in Leicester Fields.[75] Robinson's papers show his careful survey of the prospects in each constituency, and list the "Indian" group mobilised to aid Pitt:[76] Hastings, Barwell, Darell, Charles Stuart, Wraxall, Sykes, Atkinson, John Cator, and Sir Sam-

*See the Table on pp. 10-11.

uel Hannay. The first six were, or had been, H. E. I. C. S. Cator had a son in the Civil,[77] and Hannay* a brother in the Military service of the Company.[78]

Yet it should not be forgotten that the Company's activities against the Bill included a strong appeal to popular sentiment, as the term was then understood. Widespread propaganda was circulated that no charter would be safe if Fox's Bill became law,[79] and the dangers of making India a field for ministerial patronage were stressed.[80] The same arguments had been used against North's Regulating Act of 1773,[81] but now they were much more noisily and effectively urged. Casual press notices mention no less than forty-four towns and five counties [82] which deserved the formal thanks given by a General Court of Proprietors to "such Corporations, or other Bodies of Men, as by Addresses to the Throne, or by instructing their Members, or otherwise, have shown themselves adverse to the late violent Proceedings in Parliament for destroying the Rights and Privileges of this Company".[83]

By 1783 the Country's still fresh experience with the Thirteen Colonies seemed to give added force to the contention that it would be dangerous to place India under governmental patronage. *Cassandra's Short Method for terminating the Disputes concerning the East India Company* sounds far fetched to us, but shows that the analogy could not then be dismissed as inspired by partisanship. "Cassandra" was, in all probability, no less a person than Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester and noted economist.[84] He was opposed to both Company and Royal government:

> India must and will recover her original and native Independence. It is really astonishing, after so recent an example as North America, that any set of Men should be so infatuated with party-rage, . . . so blinded with the hopes of filthy lucre, as not to see, that if the whole united strength of Britain could not maintain its jurisdiction, (though the mildest and gentlest that ever was known), over *two millions* of people . . . only at the Distance of 3000 Miles; yet they could conceive it possible, that an handful of Proprietors and Directors, . . . should be able to continue their detested Usurpations, over the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of *Thirty Millions* at the Distance of 10,000 miles. . . . The idea is absurd; the Supposition confutes itself.[85]

*Sir Samuel was a curious person. Having made a fortune by the sale of a quack medicine, he got himself declared heir to a Scotch Baronetcy.—*Public Ad.*, Oct. 10, 1783; *Morning Herald and Daily Ad.*, July 26, 1784. For his advertisement of "The Specific for the infallible Prevention of a certain Disorder" see the *Public Ad.*, Oct. 25, 1774, and passim. As he advanced in the World he no longer put his name to the advertisement, merely giving the address, Philpot Lane.

Nevertheless, the fact remained that the "handful of Proprietors and Directors" had been more successful than all the forces of the Crown, and their spokesmen were not slow to draw upon the comparison. "Some years since the *American Mania* seized the Commons, . . . now the *Oriental Mania* rages among the unprincipled. Each anticipates himself, his sons, his brothers, his nephews, his cousins, or his parasites, returning home nabobs laden with the plunder of the Ganges to corrupt Great Britain." [86] Nor was the picture, however highly colored, entirely at variance with truth. "I would wish you to consider My Dear Sir," wrote Scott to Hastings, "that the Patronage of Great Britain is so exceedingly lessened by the Loss of America, that any Minister will try to get the East under the Influence of the Crown." [87]

Oddly enough, the desperate reputation of the Company and its servants here redounded to the benefit of their cause. In India was a powerful army which, acting independently or under the orders of its employers, would stop at nothing, not even the further dismemberment of the Empire. "What has happened in America, may . . . happen in India." [88]

Great as was the part played by the Company in the election, it was still vastly exaggerated and distorted by the Coalitionists. Their "scribblers" variously estimated the number of India members elected in 1784 at from 64 to 104.[89] In 1771 the Nabobs had already been accused of having formed a club, which was really a conspiracy for the purchase of boroughs.[90] Now the Bengal Club was accused of having elected seventy-four members for Pitt.[91] The Club was compelled to issue a statement denying that it had taken any part in politics and explaining that its members were men of opposite opinions.[92]

Responsible leaders were hardly more scrupulous than anonymous paragraph penners. Sheridan and Burke both pretended to believe that their fight for reform had been untainted by any Indian support, a monopoly of which they imputed to their opponents. The former told how "the Indian phalanx, those Swiss guards of Eastern peculation, had openly declared that they would overthrow the last administration, and by doing so, teach another how to value and respect their friendship; nay, these Eastern lords went so far to declare . . . that they could carry any point by money." [93] Sheridan's colleague in the representation of Stafford, elected in partnership with him, was

the Hon. Edward Monckton, late Honourable East India Company's Service.[94]

Burke's fulminations against Hastings at this time were already so violent that Scott thought his mind affected,[95] and perhaps with reason.[96] On June 14, 1784, Burke, moving a reply to the King's speech, summed up his views, in part, as follows:

> We are well aware, in providing for the affairs of the East, with what an adult state of abuse, and of wealth and influence growing out of that abuse, his Majesty's Commons had, in the last Parliament, and we still have to struggle. We are sensible that the influence of that wealth, in a much larger degree and measure than at any former period, may have penetrated into the very quarter from whence alone any real reformation can be expected.[97]

The following footnote, which also apparently appeared in the contemporary pamphlet edition of Burke's motion,[98] is appended in the Parliamentary History by way of comment: "This will be evident to those who consider the number and description of directors and servants of the East India Company chosen into the present parliament."

The number of Directors and Servants, or of other representatives of Indian wealth, was inconsiderably, if at all, increased by the Election of 1784. Still more startling, however, was that part of Burke's motion which dealt with the abuse of Indian influence in "the last parliament". Scott published figures intended to prove that of the thirty India members of all classes in the Parliament of 1780, eighteen voted with the Coalition, eight with Pitt, and four were absent.[99] His conclusion cannot be demonstrated accurate, but a conservative interpretation of the evidence still shows that, prior to the Election, the Coalition included substantially as many India members as their adversaries.

Had all the East Indians in the House formed a solid block, they would still not have possessed anything like the degree of power attributed to them. How pitiful would their thirty votes have been when compared with "Lowthers ninepins", or the seven members each controlled by the Duke of Northumberland and Mr. Eliot, or the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Edgecumbe's six. A union of four or five great personages would have counted almost as much as Directors, Captains, and Nabobs of every hue together. But, in fact, the further division of the Indians into and among antagonistic interests

robs the views represented by Burke of all claim to serious consideration.

The Southwark by-election of 1784 exemplifies the conflict that took place within the Company. One candidate, Paul Le Mesurier, was a supporter of Pitt, who announced that he had been "called to the office of Director of the East India Company . . . although particular exertions were made to keep me out by the friends of Mr. Fox and Lord North".[100] His Coalitionist opponent, Sir Richard Hotham, had been the managing owner of East India ships.[101] Despite attempts to play upon "Monsieur" Le Mesurier's origin — he came from Guernsey — the final vote was 935 to 924 in his favor.[102] Rival cliques and internal feuds were equally common at Leadenhall Street and in India.

Coalitionist writers admitted that Scott had correctly listed the India members proper in the Parliament of 1784, but demanded that he state how many there were who, "tho' not marked with the honorable bronze of Asiatic service," owed their election to Indians.[103] He replied that this was "miserable quibbling", and could "only be met by a solemn Assertion that, . . . no East Indian had interfered directly or indirectly to bring in a single Gentleman".[104] This seems to have been very near the truth. There is nothing to indicate that, excepting Barwell, who is explicitly down for two seats,[105] anyone of those mentioned in Robinson's papers returned any person beside himself.

Hastings was accused of having "ten Members of his own immediate nomination".[106] He had, in fact, paid for Scott's seat only. Robinson had suggested that, in addition to Scott, Hastings himself should "be received in another Borough", which was to be held by someone on whom Robinson could depend until the real owner returned to England, "by this means securing *two Votes* for the Minister".[107] "I positively," wrote Scott, "refused to be concerned in this Scheme."[108] The condition of Hastings' finances would not have permitted him to influence the election of many members; his purse was sufficiently strained by the purchase of one lone seat.[109]

Politically, Scott was, at this time, a figure of great prominence. Hastings had sent him to England as his personal representative or "agent", to see that the treacherous currents of Parliament, Company, and public opinion did not become hostile. Such a position, in itself, made Scott consequential and he added to his importance by

constant activity of tongue and pen. The impeachment of Hastings proved the failure of his agent's mission. It has been said that Scott's verbosity wearied and disgusted the public.[110] The positive reason for his failure went deeper; he could not master the intricacies of practical politics. His naive selfsatisfaction was the measure of his innocence. "All that was wanted was application, attachment, & integrity, & these I will boldly say I possessed."[111] Barwell knew better. He warned Hastings of Scott's probable failure as a politician.[112] "Zeal . . . for your Service is not the only Merit that should determine your Choice of a Publick Agent."[113] A few months later: "Major Scott is indefatigable . . . You must consider you sent him here a perfect Child & that he is but just initiated to a scene he never before engaged in, his progress however is great & promising."[114]

Indefatigable Scott doubtless was; that is well attested both by his own correspondence and the opinions of others, which he proudly recorded. "Coming into the Committee Room one Day," General Smith, "pulled up the Cloth of the Table, to see if I was under it."[115] "Lord Thurlow asked me the other Day, if I ever eat, or slept."[116] His very long and detailed letters to Hastings clearly depict what he described himself to be: a man continually in a hurry.[117] He rushes from incident to incident. "Ld. Ashburton has appointed me to wait upon him at 3 this evening . . . 4 o'clock. I was with Lord Ashburton Till This Moment . . ."[118]

This breathless bustle was hardly conducive to the exercise of calm and penetrating judgment. Plunged amid situations that might have baffled a clearer head, Scott floundered helplessly between the backing and fillings of politicians. Mr. Pulteney has promised to defend Hastings before the House. Scott dashes off the good news, only to be compelled, a month later, to send a copy of the equivocating letter in which Pulteney retracts his engagement.[119] Eventually Scott concludes that "there is really no public Spirit, or public Virtue in England except amongst the Proprietors of East India Stock."[120]

In Leadenhall Street he was more at home, but there also he was sometimes hard pressed to keep abreast of the shifting scene. Of Robert Gregory, Chairman of the Court of Directors, he writes: [March 3, 1782], "Mr. Gregory . . . upon all occasions has been adverse to you."[121] By May 25th there has been a "great change" in Gregory's attitude but on June 20th he is again "your determined

Enemy".[122] At length on August 12th, a postscript, "Our Party in the Direction is greatly strengthened by Gregory's voluntary Resignation of the Chair. We fairly teazed him out. Partial Wretch as he was."[123]

Strongly human touches stand out in his letters; they perhaps explain both his selection by Hastings and his failure. Sending a letter by the ship *Francis* he cannot forbear adding "how I detest the name."[124] Recounting his testimony before a committee of the House, "first I must observe to you that Francis sat by, & looked more like a Sheep Stealer than a Gentleman all the Time."[125] He encloses a picture of Mrs. Siddons, "who has made all London Tragedy mad, at a distance she has very much the air & appearance of Mrs. Hastings."[126] Sometimes he writes Mrs. Hastings. Mrs. Mary Barwell* has called on him almost every night for a week "& begs I will recommend . . . to your serious Consideration" that Miss Williams in Bengal has not yet found a husband.[127]

The good Major frequently importunes Hastings to improve his own fortune before he returns to England. Lord North,[128] Lord Mansfield,[129] even his enemy Gregory,[130] say that "after filling so important a Station for so many Years"[131] he should be worth at least 200,000 pounds and have five thousand a year.[132] Hastings apparently had not half this sum. In 1782 Sir Francis Sykes, who was one of his attorneys in England, wrote to Scott: "I most sincerely wish Hastings had one hundred Thousand Pounds, I could get him a fine Estate with a Compleat Borough for 2 Seats. This would make him of Consequence in this Country without it, he cannot be in any high light."[133]

Of Scott's own expenses the greatest by far were nonpersonal. He does not seem to have used money improperly. ". . . Notwithstanding I am accused of paying One Thousand Pounds to the Editor of a single News Paper for supporting you,[134] & suspected of disbursing forty Times that Sum in corrupting great Men, yet the only Article that can come under the Head of Bribery, is the Trifle expended at Taverns when I had the Happiness & the Honour of entertaining some of your best Friends."[135] By July 1784 he had spent 1700 pounds for printing and 4000 pounds for his seat in

*She was an eccentric maiden sister of Barwell, who had, as the saying went, taken the "brevet". See also Hickey, Vol. II, pp. 141-142, 241-242. It is comforting to know that Miss Williams did get a husband. She married Charles Chapman, high in the confidence of Hastings.

Parliament, but characteristically enough, heaviest of all was the 4700 pounds that it cost to send overland part of his almost equally futile and voluminous correspondence.[186]

KEY TO REFERENCES, CHAPTER III

[1] Public Advertiser, March 5, 1768.
[2] Veitch, G. S. The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform, p. 12 (quoted).
[3] Ibid.
[4] Quoted in Hinkhouse, The Nabobs In British Social Life and Thought, p. 2.
[5] Pub. Ad., Oct. 30, 1783.
[6] Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29162, fol. 265b. Scott to Hastings, Feb. 25, 1784. Fol. 331, March 5, 1784.
[7] Oldfield, T. H. B. Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. III, p. 238.
[8] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29161, fol. 241. Scott to Hastings, "Private", Dec. 22, 1783. Add. Ms. 29163, fol. 49-49b-50. Scott to Hastings, March 27, 1784.
[9] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29163, fol. 35 & seq. Scott to Hastings, March 26, 1784.
[10] Pub. Ad., Oct. 15, 1774.
[11] Westminster Magazine, 1776, p. 287.
[12] Grand's Narrative, p. 28.
[13] Pub. Ad., Sept. 14, 1780.
[14] Oldfield, op. cit., II, 223 & seq.
[15] Dictionary of National Biography.
[16] Oldfield, An Entire and Complete History of the Boroughs of Great Britain, II, 152-160.
[17] Ibid, pp. 226 & seq.
[18] Ibid, I, pp. 273-291.
[19] Bath Chronicle, April 8, 1784.
[20] Wraxall, Sir N. W. Posthumous Memoirs. Edition published by Bickers, 1884. Vol. IV, p. 93.
[21] Oldfield, op. cit., pp. 273-291.
[22] See p. 122.
[23] Pub. Ad., Oct. 23, 1773.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Pub. Ad., Oct. 30, 1773, Nov. 17, 1773.
[26] Pub. Ad., Nov. 27, 1773.
[27] Ibid, Oct. 28, 1774.
[28] Oldfield, op. cit., II, pp. 250-258.
[29] Pub. Ad., Oct. 28, 1774.
[30] See the votes recorded in the Tables, Appendix.
[31] Parliamentary History, vol. XXII, cols. 334-335, May 25, 1781; col. 121, April 30, 1781.

[32] Parliamentary History, vol. XXII, col. 1378, Dec. 1, 1783.

[33] Pub. Ad., Oct. 23, 1783. Letter by "Sophia". "My Cousin Matilda says, that to her knowledge many a One has gained a Majority by the mere Force of Bribery, and that they acquired their Resources by a kind of Employment which used to be called *nabob-hunting*".

[34] Fox's Martyrs; or, a New Book of the Sufferings of the Faithful. London, 1784, p. 57. Also Pub. Ad., Jan. 2, 1784.

[35] Mill, History of British India, vol. V, p. 32.

[36] Parliamentary History, vol. XXII, col. 122, April 30, 1781.

[37] Wraxall, op. cit., I, 263.

[38] Pub. Ad., Dec. 6, 1783. Wraxall became agent to the Nabob of Arcot. See D. N. B.

[39] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29161, fol. 73. Scott to Hastings, Nov. 5, 1783.

[40] Wraxall, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 376-381; D. N. B.

[41] D. N. B.

[42] Parl. Hist., vol. XXIII, col. 805. May 2, 1783.

[43] Ibid, cols. 983-988. June 2, 1783.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Pub. Ad., Dec. 10, 1783; March 9, 1784; July 15, 1784.

[49] Pub. Ad., Jan. 8, 1784; May 11, 1784; Sept. 6, 1784. W. H. P., Add. Ms. 29154, fol. 15b, Scott to Hastings, April, 1782; Add. Ms. 29155, fol. 350, Halhed to Hastings, Aug. 5, 1782.

[50] Parl. Hist., vol. XXIII, cols. 1333-1334, Dec. 1, 1783.

[51] Wraxall, op. cit., II, 376-381.

[52] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage, vol. V, p. 207; Pub. Ad., May 25, 1772.

[53] See William Markham in Foster's Pedigrees of Yorkshire Families, part for the West Riding. I. O., Records of Bengal Civilians.

[54] Pub. Ad., May 12, 1773.

[55] Ibid, April 11, 1772; May 27, 1773; March 21, 1772.

[56] Ibid, May 26, 1773.

[57] Ibid, June 3, 1772; May 27, 1773.

[58] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. III, p. 172; Reference to Grenville Papers, vol. IV, p. 14.

[59] Forrest, Life of Clive, vol. II, pp. 178, 346, 356.

[60] Grenville Papers, vol. IV, p. 423; Trevelyan, Early History of Charles James Fox, p. 184, footnote.

[61] Lecky, op. cit., III, 490-491.

[62] Hunt, William, History of England, 1760-1801, p. 122.

[63] Lecky, op. cit., III, 490-491.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Pub. Ad., Dec. 3, Dec. 10, 1774.

[66] Manning and Bray, History of Surrey, vol. II, p. 495.

[67] Lecky, op. cit., III, 490-491.

[68] Pub. Ad., May 22, 1773.

[69] Pub. Ad., May 22, 1773.

[70] Ibid, May 26, 27, 1773.

[71] Parl. Hist., vol. XXII, cols. 137-138, April 30, 1781.

[72] Ibid, col. 133.

[73] Pub. Ad., Jan. 7, 1773. Parl. Hist., vol. XVII, cols. 657 and previous, Dec. 18, 1772; vol. XXIII, col. 1396, Dec. 1, 1783.

[74] American Historical Review, January, 1913; William Pitt and Westminster Elections by W. T. Laprade. Also editor's introduction to Robinson's Papers.

[75] Introduction, Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson, p. XIV.

[76] Robinson's Papers, pp. 126-129.

[77] I. O., Records of Bengal Civilians, vol. c, p. 318; Writer's Petitions, vol. 7, 1770, no. 10.

[78] Dodwell and Miles, Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army, 1760-1837; Pub. Ad., Nov. 30, Dec. 19, Dec. 28, Dec. 30, 1774.

[79] Ransome, Cyril, Advanced History of England, p. 843. ". . . the East India Company sent a copy of the bill to every borough, with the advice, 'our charter is invaded, look to your own'." See also advertisements in the Public Advertiser, Dec. 22, 1873, Jan. 10, 1784, thanking the corporations of Maidstone and Chipping Wycombe for instructing their members against the Bill, or passing resolutions.

[80] Pub. Ad., Jan. 5, 19, 1784.

[81] Ibid, Aug. 11, Nov. 24, 1772; March 8, June 12, Nov. 5, 1773.

[82] Bristol Journal, Jan. 31, Feb. 14, 21, 28, 1784.

[83] I. O., Court Minutes, vol. 92, General Court, March 24, 1784.

[84] Tucker wrote under the penname "Cassandra"; the quotation is taken from a letter from "Gloucester" to the Bristol Journal. Moreover, the sentiments are in accord with Tucker's general ideas.

[85] Bristol Journal, Jan. 3, 1784. See also for the American parallel, Pub. Ad., Nov. 19, Dec. 11, 1783.

[86] Pub. Ad., "Sully" "To the King", Jan. 14, 1784.

[87] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29160, fol. 276, Scott to Hastings, Sept. 9, 1783. Also, for patronage contrast, Pub. Ad., Dec. 26, 1783.

[88] Pub. Ad., Jan. 2, 6, 1784.

[89] Parker's General Advertiser & Morning Intelligencer, June 8, 1783. Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser, Aug. 7, July 6, 1784, July 12, 1784. Parker's General Ad. & Morning Intelligencer, May 26, 29, June 3, 4, July 2, 8, 1784.

[90] Town and Country Magazine, 1771, p. 69.

[91] Parker's General Advertiser & Morning Intelligencer, July 8, 1784.

[92] Pub. Ad., May 27, 1784.

[93] Parl. Hist., vol. XXIV, col. 1201, July 26, 1784.

[94] See p. 108.

[95] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29154, fol. 149, Scott to Hastings, April 25, 1782.

[96] Lecky, op. cit., III, 188.

[97] Parl. Hist., vol. XXIV, col. 974 and footnote, June 14, 1784.

[98] Pub. Ad., July 9, 1784.

[99] Ibid, July 8, 1784.

[100] Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser, June 21, 1784.

[101] See Table V, p. 113.
[102] Morning Herald & Daily Ad., June 26, 28, 1784. Parker's General Ad. & Morning Intelligencer, June 24, 28, 1784.
[103] Morning Herald & Daily Ad., July 8, 1784.
[104] Pub. Ad., July 9, 1784.
[105] Robinson's Papers, p. 126.
[106] Parker's General Ad. & Morning Intelligencer, July 2, 1784.
[107] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29162, fol. 362b. Scott to Hastings.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29161, fol. 223, Scott to Hastings, Jan. 6, 1784; fol. 244b, Scott to Hastings, Dec. 22, 1783.
[110] Wraxall, op. cit., I, 121.
[111] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29155, fol. 396, Scott to Hastings, Aug. 11, 1782.
[112] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29153, fol. 1 & seq. Barwell to Hastings, Feb. 1, 1782.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29157, fol. 331b. Barwell to Hastings, undated, endorsed "Recd. July 1783".
[115] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29155, fol. 396. Scott to Hastings, Aug. 11, 1782.
[116] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29161, fol. 328b. Scott to Hastings, Jan. 11, 1784.
[117] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29154, fol. 13. Scott to Hastings. He notes "the Hurry I am now continually in".
[118] Ibid. Fol. 172b. Scott to Hastings.
[119] Ibid. Fol. 27. Scott to Hastings, April 23, 1782; fol. 181b-182, May 25, 1782.
[120] Ibid. Add. Ms. 25159, fol. 338b. Scott to Hastings, June 7, 1783.
[121] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29153, fol. 162. Scott to Hastings, March 3, 1782.
[122] Ibid, fol. 180, 444b. May 25, June 20, 1782.
[123] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29155, fol. 411b. Scott to Hastings, Aug. 12, 1782.
[124] Ibid. Fol. 23. Scott to Hastings, July 4, 1782.
[125] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29153, fol. 160.
[126] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29158, fol. 435. Scott to Hastings, March 22, 1783.
[127] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29160, fol. 150. Scott to Mrs. Hastings, July 25, 1783.
[128] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29152, fol. 207. Scott to Hastings, Dec. 25, 1781.
[129] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29160, fol. 107b. Scott to Hastings, July 21, 1783.
[130] Ibid. Fol. 148. Scott to Mrs. Hastings, July 25, 1783.
[131] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29152, fol. 207. Scott to Hastings, Dec. 25, 1781.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29156, fol. 185-186. Sir F. Sykes to Scott, Oct. 6, 1782.
[134] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29162, fol. 265. Scott to Hastings, Feb. 25, 1784.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid. Add. Ms. 29164, fol. 490. Scott to Hastings, July 12, 1784.

CHAPTER IV

THE NABOBS AT HOME

There were Nabobs who bought fine estates and devoted their energies to making them still finer, there were Nabobs who bought less pretending properties and lived on them in quiet rustication, there were Nabobs who subordinated their interests as country gentlemen to those of a more active life, such as the scientific or the commercial, and there were a class of East Indians, for the most part of lesser consequence, who were chiefly conspicuous in the dissipations of the town.

Land hunger was perhaps the most general characteristic of the returned Nabob. A parliamentary seat and a landed estate were declared to be the twin apples of the Nabob's eye,[1] and the latter probably loomed larger. The landowner had a profitable investment, an attractive residence, and a high social position. While still in Bengal the Anglo-Indian dreamt of himself as a country squire. An estate on the borders of Herts and Middlesex was first prize in a Calcutta lottery.[2] Doubtless East Indians were among the "many Gentlemen almost daily arriving from abroad, possessed of considerable Sums, which they are desirous of investing in Landed Property", to whom, in 1774, a firm of estate agents thought it worth while to address an advertisement.[3]

Appendix III contains a list of the seats of some Nabob gentry. Very often the Indian owner left his mark by altering house and grounds. Particular interest attaches to those who did so with traditional Nabob splendor, and who put in their mansions something reminiscent of India.

William Hornby commemorated his forty-three years of service at Bombay, thirteen of them as Governor,[4] by building, after his return in 1784, Hook House on the coast of Hampshire, which was a replica of Government House, Bombay.[5] The painter as well as the architect might be called on to glorify the Nabob's past. For Bushbridge, his beautiful seat near Godalming, Surrey, Sir Robert Barker had Tilly Kettle execute two scenes from his military career: Sir Robert concluding the Treaty of Fyzabad with the Rohillas and the Nawab of

Oude reviewing the English Brigade.*[6] About 1760 William Frankland journeyed home from Bengal, crossing the Persian Gulf disguised as a "Tartar messenger", and continuing on his way via Bagdad and Jerusalem. At Muntham, the Sussex estate which he purchased, he hung a painting of himself, "with a chart before him tracing his route from Tadmor, in the desert, to the holy sepulchre".[7]

Sir Robert Palk resigned the Governorship of Madras in 1767 and returned to England. He purchased Haldon House, Devonshire, from William Webber[8] who had been proposed as a Director of the East India Company in 1769.[9] Palk "made numerous alterations and improvements" in the mansion, which had been built in the early Eighteenth Century, along the lines of Buckingham House. He changed the exterior so that it appeared "one story higher than before", and covered the original brick with a patent stucco which made it look like stone. The hall he laid with a floor of red and yellow wood captured from the French in India. He landscaped the grounds anew, and "by act of parliament, enclosed some hundreds of acres". General Stringer Lawrence, his old Indian crony, lived much at Haldon, and after his death Palk erected to his memory, Lawrence Castle, a tower on a nearby hill. Within was an inscription written by Wallajah, Nawab of Arcot.[10]

An Anglo-Indian memorial similar to Lawrence Castle is Severndroog Castle, on Shooter's Hill, near Woolwich Common.[11] At Eltham, close by, was Park Place Farm, the seat of Sir William James,[12] who as Commodore of the East India Company's navy reaped moderate fame and great fortune by destroying in 1755, Severndroog or the Golden Fortress, stronghold of a dynasty of notorious native pirates who had long terrorised Bombay waters.[13] Sir William died in 1783, and is buried in Eltham church; the triangular tower known as Severndroog Castle was erected to his memory by his widow.[14]

Nabobs whose building operations were of sufficient magnitude to attract considerable contemporary attention were Richard Barwell at Stanstead, Sussex, Major Charles Marsac at Caversham, Oxfordshire, and Sir Francis Sykes at Basildon, Berkshire.

We have already mentioned the proficiency shown by Barwell and Marsac in making enemies among their neighbors.[15] The former paid

*In 1772, the Nawab of Oude, fearful that the Rohillas would join the Mahrattas and invade his state, asked Sir Robert Barker's aid. By the Treaty of Fyzabad, Barker aligned the Rohillas against the Mahrattas.

90,000 pounds for the Stanstead estate, which was considered a remarkable bargain at that price; 140,000 pounds had been previously refused. Barwell got it so cheaply because his command of ready money enabled him to meet the unusually short time allowed for payment.[16] Stanstead was five miles in circumference;[17] Barwell had the grounds newly landscaped by "Capability" Brown, and the house, which contained carvings by Grinling Gibbons, extensively altered and enlarged by Bonomi and James Wyatt.[18] All in all, he was said to have improved an "enchanting spot with grett [sic] good taste".[19]

Marsac was reputed to have purchased the Caversham estate in Oxfordshire under rather original circumstances. Lord Cadogan, the previous owner, having quarreled with his lady, abruptly determined to break up house, and "sold land, house, furniture, wine in the cellar, and if we are to believe report the very roast beef on the spit to Major Marsac for a sum of money one day before dinner".[20] Caversham was built in the reign of William III at a cost of 130,000 pounds;[21] the Major's implacable determination to make it still more magnificent was the subject of contemporary satire.[22] There were suspicions that it was really being held as the future residence of Warren Hastings.[23] The manor of 4200 acres was coextensive with the parish, and contained a 500 acre park with elaborate pleasure grounds.[24] Marsac, who was rumored to have been a son of George II, died in 1837, leaving property valued at over 182,000 pounds.[25]

The heirs of the last Lord Fane sold Basildon in Berkshire to Sir Francis Sykes about 1770.[26] The park was some three miles around, with gardens "on a grand scale". Sykes employed Carr of York to erect a new and "elegant" mansion, the central feature of which were four Ionic columns. The interior contained a highly ornate "Grand Saloon", and a good picture gallery, particularly rich in works of the Dutch school.[27]

Other Indians who had noteworthy estates might be mentioned. The 18,000 pounds brought by General Carnac's "noble Place" in Hampshire was called a "vile Price" in comparison with what he had expended upon it.[28] Carnac also laid out the Polygon in Southampton.[29] Lord Pigot was said to have paid 100,000 pounds for Patshull, Staffordshire, "the most beautiful place in the County".[30] At White Knights, near Reading, lived William Byam Martin "in the true stile of old English hospitality".[31] At Woodhall Park, Watton Woodhall, Herts, Sir Thomas Rumbold erected a new house, which

Basildon Park, c. 1794

From the Victoria History of Berkshire

MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES ST

was further enlarged by Paul Benfield who bought the estate after Rumbold's death.[32]

But all the commotion caused by the Nabobs could hardly have been the work of a few individuals, however rich or unpleasant they may have been. Doubtless there were a large number who, less burdened with prudence than with wealth, spent the relatively moderate sums they had acquired by rushing into a course of extravagance and dissipation; who were as unpleasant for not behaving with sufficient propriety as the greater Nabobs were for their excessive pomposity. Of these lesser lights we have significant glimpses: fighting a duel in Chelsea Fields "for some Affront given at Vauxhall", outraging "the Decorum of a fair charactered Assembly, by introducing . . . at the London Tavern, Miss ———, in all the Flare and Gewgaw of Asiatic Prostitution,"[33] ending in the Watch House after a "drunken frolic",[34] being "impatiently" awaited as prey by professional gamblers and swindlers.[35] Or in the swim at Bath: "Shakespear"†, wrote Scott to Hastings, "is there, spending his Money like a Blockhead, & gaming which is worse."[36]

> There is an article wanting in the India Bill, which Mr. Pitt's information and knowledge cannot be expected to have furnished, i. e. a check on those wretches who bring up their daughters, and *let them out* to debauched Nabobs, on condition to furnish them to India, and put them in a way to procure husbands. Instances of this kind might be produced, which would be shocking even to that depraved state of humanity which is the dishonour of our religion and our laws.[37]

In his more correct moments we may see the gay East Indian superintending the costume of a nobleman who wishes to shine as a native nawab at a masquerade;[38] the very pattern of a Pantheon Macaroni, a "Bond Street lounger", an habitue of Fops' Alley.[39] And the piece might end in tragedy and suicide, after all.*

A sporting Nabob of more than ephemeral consequence was General Richard Smith. Excepting perhaps Clive, who was on an altogether different level, Richard Smith was unquestionably the Nabob

†See p. 161.

*"On Tuesday a young Gentleman shot himself in his lodgings at one of the hotels in Covent Garden. He was a young man of character and distinction, lately returned from the East Indies, where he had acquired a genteel competency; but from the extravagancies of youth, had expended his fortune, and found himself in very embarrassed circumstances. . . . He was a young gentleman of about 19 years, upwards of six feet high, and of a handsome and agreeable aspect."—*Pub. Ad.*, Friday, Dec. 31, 1784. Some two months earlier a Major in the Company's service committed suicide at Paris, and another Indian cut his throat in Chancery Lane, owing to unsuccessful speculations in stocks.—*Pub. Ad.*, Nov. 4, 11, Oct. 21, 31, 1783.

of Nabobs. He actually seemed to possess some of the qualities popularly attributed to the legendary Nabob; his obscure and probably low origin, his arrogant manner, his penchant for notoriety, all caused him to be pointed at as the original of Foote's Sir Matthew Mite.[40] The General attracted attention in more than one field,—as M. P. and conspicuous follower of Fox, as High Sheriff of Berkshire and owner of Chiltern Lodge in the County.[41] He was the central figure of much gossip, ranging from the scandalous[42] to the rather creditable; it was said that he had prepared for his public career by entering Oxford as a Gentleman Commoner, and that he had advanced the Drummond banking firm 150,000 pounds because he remembered their kindness in giving him half crowns when sent there on messages in his youth.[43]

Among his contemporaries, however, the General was chiefly famous as a gambler and a patron of the turf. There is a story that he once went to sleep in one of the St. James's Street clubs, first cautioning the waiter not to wake him unless some one who would play for 3000 guineas came in.[44] He kept an Arabian sire, was a member of the Jockey Club,[45] and his duly registered scarlet colors[46] were displayed in the Oaks of 1780 and the Derby of 1781.[47] The General's best known horse was Rosaletta, a brown mare foaled 1778, by Nabob* out of Rosetta. Her first recorded race was at the Newmarket Spring Meeting of 1781, when she won a sweepstake of 50 guineas each, against four other horses, with the odds 4 to 1 against her. The following October she beat "Mr. Fox's Rodney, . . . 7 to 4 on Rodney". A long list of victories, including two Royal Purses, followed.[48]

Eventually fickle Fortune turned against the General. Rumor said that he had lost 180,000 pounds to Charles Fox alone.[49] By the beginning of the year 1783 he was a "ruined man".[50] In politics too, as a supporter of Fox and North, he backed the wrong horse. But he apparently kept up his courage to the last. At the meeting of Berkshire gentry who nominated George Vansittart* to be their candidate for Parliament in the anti-Coalition interest, General Smith made a speech in opposition, which "appeared to be rather fore," as he had "just lost his election for having pursued the same political line of conduct as the freeholders were then reprobating."[51]

The remainder of the General's life is in some doubt. For a time,

*Nabob was favored as a name for horses throughout the second half of the Century.
*A Nabob. See Supplement.

he apparently dropped into mysterious oblivion.[52] It is probable that he saved a modest competence from the wreck of his fortune, and that having lost his parliamentary immunity of arrest for debt, he fled to the Continent.[53] The *Public Advertiser* of September 7, 1784, said that "General Smith is not to settle again in England till he can get a seat in Parliament." A General Richard Smith of Harley Street, which had been the General's London address,[54] was elected to Parliament for Wareham, Dorset, in 1790, and spoke frequently, sometimes on India affairs, until May 9, 1796.[55] On the other hand, a pamphlet of 1792 [56] mentions General Smith as having "sunk into his original insignificance". Faulkner, the historian of Brentford, says that Smith wrote the inscription on the tomb of Robert Orme, the Anglo-Indian historian, who died in 1801.[57]

There was yet another type of returned Nabob who directed his energies to more remunerative or useful pursuits. Some East Indians put their wealth into financial enterprises and a few engaged in scientific experiment. In 1772 there appeared an advertisement announcing that "A Gentleman who has acquired a very considerable Fortune in the East Indies, in conjunction with a Nobleman of very extensive Estates, has adopted his late Grace of Bedford's Plan of Annuities, viz. that of granting Annuities for the Lives of Purchasers, and purchasing Annuities on the Lives of Sellers." [58]

Paul Benfield became the most important Nabob banker. Although he has already made his appearance in these pages, his great strut came after his final departure from India in 1788. In addition to the Watton Woodhall estate, he bought the Earl of Thanet's house in Grosvenor Square for his town residence. On his marriage to "Miss Swinburne, of Hamsterley, Durham," the bride received a ring worth 3000 pounds, a jointure of 3000 pounds a year, 500 pounds per annum in addition for pin money, and each of their children was to have 10,000 pounds.[59]

Benfield was, however, far too restless and scheming a character to be satisfied with mere ostentation as an outlet for his energies. On March 15, 1793, the firm of Boyd, Benfield & Co., was established in London,[60] with Benfield as junior partner, holding a one-fourth interest.[61] Walter Boyd, the principal partner, had been a banker in Paris before the Revolution, in consequence of which he had been obliged to flee, and suffered the confiscation of his fortune. Boyd was close to Pitt;[62] Boyd Benfield soon made a great profit in government loans,

and had, besides, lucrative relations with the East India Company and the Emperor Francis II. In Benfield's own words: "The whole Commercial world was witness to the vast successes of the House of Boyd Benfield and Comp." [64]

Their prosperity was short lived. In anticipation of peace with France the firm had made large purchases in the public funds,[65] and had counted on the restoration of Boyd's French property.[66] The failure of Lord Malmesbury's peace mission to Lille in 1797 dashed these hopes,[67] and made their position precarious. Boyd Benfield received powerful private, and even government, aid,[68] but the day of reckoning could not be staved off, and in 1799 their affairs were finally put into liquidation.[69]

Benfield passed the last years of his life in poverty in France. In a very bitter publication, he blamed Boyd for his misfortunes.[70] The expenses of his funeral, in 1810, were defrayed by a subscription among his countrymen in Paris.[71]

John Pybus went out to Madras as a Writer in 1742 and returned to England in 1768 [72] after an eventful career; he was one of the eight volunteer officers who served under Clive at Arcot, and he was sent on an embassy to the King of Ceylon.[73] Pybus settled at Cheam, Surrey, and bought also the "villa" of Greenhill Grove, Chipping Barnet, Herts, from Thomas Brand, M. P. He afterwards sold Greenhill Grove to General Prevost for what was considered the sacrifice price of 9000 pounds.[74]

The writer has not been able to ascertain whether Pybus was a member of Pybus, Dorset & Co., bankers, who were in business in 1784.[75] He wrote Hastings that on January 1, 1785, he, his son, John Call, and James Grant, would open a banking house on Bond Street, under the style of Pybus's Call Grant & Co., and that they solicited the business of East Indians who had not already appointed attorneys for the management of their affairs at home.[76]

Pybus's partner, Colonel John Call, was a Nabob of very remarkable versatility. He went to India in 1749, and returned home about 1766, upon receiving the news of his father's death.[77] He had shared in the usurious spoils enjoyed by the Company's servants at Madras at that Period, and in which Benfield had been the chief participant.[78]

Call purchased a London house in Old Burlington Street, and Whiteford, Stoke Climsland, Cornwall, "which he converted into a

Muntham

handsome seat".[79] He served as High Sheriff of the County in 1771,[80] and was returned to Parliament for Lord Orford's borough of Callington, near Whiteford, in 1784 and again in 1790.[81] The following year he was made a Baronet.[82]

In India Call had been a skilful military engineer; in England he was a banker, a manufacturer of plate glass, a copper smelter,[83] and a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal Antiquarian Society.[84] His knowledge and ability were useful to government; in 1782 Lord Shelburne employed him to enquire, jointly with A. Holdsworth, into the state of the Crown lands and Woods and Forests.[85] In 1784 Call suggested to the Ministry "the sending our Criminals to an Establishment on New South Wales, or on New Zealand",[86]* and he wanted Hastings to fit out ships that would follow up Cook's voyages, and make further investigation of the American Pacific coast North of California.[87] Call's interest in penology was not limited to his proposal for an Australasian convict station. A new County Prison for Cornwall, completed at Bodmin in 1780, was designed by him along the lines recommended by John Howard, the famous philanthropist and prison reformer.[88]

The most eminent of the Nabobs in the realm of pure science was John Walsh, whom we have previously met as a Member of Parliament for Worcester, in Clive's interest. Notwithstanding his political conduct,[89] which hardly stamped him as the unworldly scholar, Walsh was actually much more engrossed in science than in politics. His pioneer experiments on the torpedo fish caused him to correspond with Benjamin Franklin, and gained him the Copley Medal of the Royal Society in 1774 and again in 1783.[90] In 1773 he was elected to the Councils of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries.[91] Through his mother's family, Walsh was a connection of Nevil Maskelyne, the astronomer.[92] His seat was Warfield Park, Bracknell, Berkshire.[93]

Another scientific Nabob was William Frankland. Although he had taken an inglorious part at the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab in 1756, fleeing to a ship of which he was part owner, he received 11,367 pounds as his share of the compensation awarded the Company's servants after the restoration of its authority.[94] Muntham, his Sussex estate, had been built by the preceding owner, Anthony, Viscount Montague, for a hunting box. Frankland "considerably en-

*Owing to the Revolution it was impossible to use America for this purpose any longer.

larged" the house, and spent there "the last forty years of his life in scientific pursuits". "He is said to have expended at least 20,000 pounds in his favorite researches." There were rooms filled with all manner of novel and elaborate machinery: lathes, spinning and winding machines, electrifying machines, optical apparatus, clocks, printing presses, musical instruments, implements of agriculture.

> What rendered the examination of these objects particularly interesting, was that they were all constructed from the plans of the venerable proprietor, who at one time kept many workmen, and even some from foreign countries, in constant employ. Soon after Mr. Frankland's death, in December, 1805, at the age of eighty-five, this extraordinary collection was disposed of by public sale. Many of the articles fetched very high prices, one turning lathe alone being sold for three thousand guineas.[95]

But most of those who returned from India probably passed their time in more or less quiet and conventional retirement. They probably lived the lives of ordinary country gentlemen, marked out from their neighbors only by a partiality for curry and Madeira, with a turn at the county shrievalty more than gratifying their highest aspirations. Even Foote recognised that "there are men from the Indies, and many too, . . . who dispense nobly and with hospitality here, what they have acquired with honour and credit elsewhere; and, at the same time they have increased their dominions and wealth, have added virtues too to their country".[96]

Exemplary Nabobs were John Cartier of Bedgebury in Kent, Governor of Bengal from 1770 to 1772, General Joseph Smith of Bath, and General John Caillaud of Aston Rowant in Oxfordshire. Price* selected Cartier and "General Joe Smith" as representative of the much maligned class of "reputed nabobs" to which, he said, most of the Indians really belonged. Urging Hastings to enrich himself, Scott held up Cartier for a warning example, describing him as "a farmer in Kent".[97] To call Cartier a "farmer" was, perhaps, to exaggerate the simplicity of his surroundings. Bedgebury was characterised by a contemporary topographer of Kent as "that eminent seat".[98] Captain Edward Stephenson, who died in India, left it to a "Miss Peach", perhaps related to the Director, Samuel Peach;[99] from her Cartier purchased it. He "made great improvements to the house and lands" and bought also Twysden, or Burrs Farm, nearby.[100] In 1790 he was referred to as having "been for eighteen years a respect-

*In *The Saddle Put On The Right Horse; or, An Enquiry Into The Reason Why Certain Persons Have Been Denominated Nabobs*, p. 84.

able plain English country gentleman, with an income of 2,000 pounds a year, . . . and distinguished by the title of the Man of Kent by all his neighbors".[101]

Knowing full well that "however Impolitic, and Illiberal the Sentiment may be, the Company, nor their Servants have never been favorites with the public",[102] General Caillaud seems to have borne himself discreetly. The owner of 6500 pounds worth of India Stock, when the Company reduced its dividend rate he supplied the deficiency in his income "by staying at Aston and letting his town house and so living in peace".[103] In 1773 Oxford University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor in Civil Law, on which occasion, Dr. Vansittart of All Souls College, brother of Henry and George Vansittart, made the presentation speech.[104]

William Makepeace Thackeray, grandfather of the novelist, settled at Hadley Green, Middlesex, after having been a service protégé of Governor John Cartier, and like Cartier of Bedgebury, Thackeray of Hadley Green lived in a style vastly different from that in which the returned Nabob was commonly pictured. He was a homely soul, who dug in his garden during the week, went strictly to church on Sundays, and was chaffed about his simple clothes by his younger relations. Of the posts which he had filled while in the service Thackeray is best remembered for his Collectorship of Sylhet, then a wild and remote district, where he made money by supplying the Company with elephants.[105]

The novelist's mother, Ann Becher, was a kinswoman of the rather pathetic Richard Becher.[106] His first period of service was from 1743 to 1761; in 1767 he went back to Bengal as Fifth in the Governor's Council, rising to be Second, when he again returned to England in 1771.[107] In *The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves,* Sir William Hunter pays tribute to Richard Becher as "almost the only Englishman who, amid misrepresentation and calumny, strove to grapple with the great famine of 1770". "A Century afterwards his letters and consultations, as Resident at Murshidabad, fired me with admiration when a young Assistant Magistrate. They led to the attempt, in my *Annals of Rural Bengal,* to explain for the first time the true meaning of an Indian famine."[108]

In 1775 Becher purchased Rooksnest, Tandridge, Surrey, from John Cooke, himself a recent owner, who had become bankrupt. It was an estate of about 340 acres; the house, which stood in its own

park was altered by Becher at great expense into a fine classical mansion, with an Ionic portico.[109] In 1780 Becher and his brother went into serious financial difficulties, leaving, according to the *Public Advertiser* of December 16th, debts to the amount of 120,000 pounds. There was nothing for it but to repair to India again. Becher arrived as Chief Superintendent of the Mint at Dacca in October 1781; he died at Calcutta, November 17, 1782.[110] He had conveyed Rooksnest to trustees who sold it to a Colonel Clarke. Clarke died in 1788 and bequeathed the estate to Henry Strachey, Clive's former secretary.[111]

Sir William Hunter hazards the suggestion that Thackeray may have had Becher or Peter Moore* in mind when he drew Colonel Newcome. The latter was the brother-in-law and great neighbor of "Sylhet" Thackeray at Hadley. He left India a wealthy man, but, like many another East Indian, Moore experienced the caprices of fortune to the full. After being a conspicuous figure, and sitting in Parliament for many years, he lost his money in 1825, and died three years after in France, aged 75.[112]

Sir William wrote under a strong and natural emotional reaction against the Eighteenth Century Nabob baiters, to whom he pays his respects. His little book has undeniable charm, but perhaps scarcely reflects the robustness which strengthened its characters to face the very hardships alluded to by the author. We need not be sorry to learn that although Richard Becher, "lost his little fortune trying to help a friend",[113] his wealth had yet been great enough to enable him to play the Nabob a bit at Rooksnest, and that if Peter Moore had all the virtues of Colonel Newcome, he was, nevertheless, a man "of fame in the bottle way",[114] whose judgment of, and capacity for, claret, made him a fit companion for the bibulous Hickey himself.

At Haldon, Sir Robert Palk took a place "high among the worthies of Devon", illustrating "the character which he bore with him from his Indian government, . . . by the hospitality and urbanity of the country gentleman".[115] He owned his borough like a gentleman,[116] his son made the Grand Tour and a marriage of rank;[117] no one objected to an Indian who so judiciously blended the magnificence of the Nabob with the benevolence of the squire. He gave Ashburton Church "a most handsome three-decker pulpit, a marvel of joinery and teak",[118] and, on at least one occasion, he gave, at Ashburton's

*See D. N. B.

HALIFAX HOUSE

Golden Lion Inn, "a very elegant ball" that was the sensation of the vicinity:

> By eight o'clock about 400 were collected in the ball-room (such a number as was never seen at any ball in this town before) when the minuets commenced, and were chiefly danced by the ladies of Ashburton (with the Gentlemen Members of the Dean Hunt) who honoured the room with their numerous appearance. . . . The rooms were splendidly illuminated; . . . tea, lemonade, negus, cake, and other refreshments were plentifully handed about . . .; everything was superb; the profusion and variety astonishing. . . .[119]

The Nabobs participated in the general social obligations of the community. They acted as stewards at their local race meetings and contributed their ten guineas toward the cup.[120] Their names appeared still more frequently among those of the subscribers to charitable enterprises. Palk was a Perpetual Governor of St. George's Hospital,[121] and in 1768 he was one of the Stewards of the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy.[122] Rumbold, Farrer, Henry Vansittart, and Thomas Pattle interested themselves in the Magdalen Hospital; Lawrence and Verelst in the Middlesex Lying-in Hospital; Strachey in the Westminster Hospital.[123] Other good causes which called forth Nabob benevolence might be mentioned,[124] but a philanthropy particularly connected with East Indians was the Marine Society, which fitted out poor boys for the sea. In 1773 the list of subscriptions received for the Society's new house was headed by: "A Contribution at Fort St. George, appropriated by the Society to this Purpose, viz. 1580 ½ Pagodas, at 8s. per Pag. 632£ 4s."[125] After the first stone of the new house in Bishopgate Street had been laid "the Governors dined at their private Expence at the London Tavern, where many loyal and grateful Healths were drank, among the latter . . . the generous Benefactors—in East India, &c. a Subscription at Madrass of 632£ 4s. having been the Foundation of this salutary Undertaking".[126] East Indians and Directors prominent in the Society's affairs in England included Harry Verelst, Henry and George Vansittart, Edward Cotsford, Thomas Farrer, Laurence Sulivan, John Dorrien, and John Purling.[127]

The town houses of the Nabobs were scattered through the West End. They favored Mayfair; the immediate neighborhood of Grosvenor Square, in particular, had a strong representation. In the Square itself lived Luke Scrafton,[128] and later, Sir Lionel Darell[129] and Paul Benfield;[130] Sir Francis Sykes lived in Upper Brook Street,[131] Henry

Strachey in Park Street,[132] Sir C. W. B. Rouse in Lower Grosvenor Street.[133] John Walsh lived in Chesterfield Street.[134] Just across the Bond Street border of Mayfair, in old Burlington Street, was the residence of Sir John Call,[135] and in George Street, Hanover Square, of General Caillaud.[136] Denizens of Soho were Lord Pigot and Sir William James; the former in Soho Square,[137] the latter in Gerard Street.[138] Nathaniel Middleton, Harry Verelst, and Richard Barwell had houses in St. James's Square; Verelst lived at No. 9,—now the Portland Club,—from 1770 to 1781; Barwell at No. 7 from 1782 to 1796.[139] North of Oxford Street, Richard Becher lived in Portman Square and General Richard Smith in Harley Street.[140]

Farther East, Queen Square, on the confines of Bloomsbury, seems to have been something of a Directors neighborhood. William Barwell,* Stephen Law,† Laurence Sulivan,‡ and Timothy Tullie,¶ all lived in the Square or the adjoining Great Ormond Street.[141]

London haunts associated with Indians were the Jerusalem Coffee House and the Crown and Anchor Tavern.[142] The latter was sometimes used as a meeting place by the leaders of cliques in the East India Company planning their tactics for the fray at the next General Court of Proprietors.[143] How the stock was to be split* and the voters rallied—from Yorkshire to "the Extremity of Cornwall".[144] At the Crown and Anchor, too, met the Bengal Club "once a Fortnight, for six Months in the Year", when friendships "formed during many years together abroad" [145] were rekindled.

Hand in hand with the development of Anglo-Indian amenities went the normalisation of the Anglo-Indian. That he was becoming a more and more accepted figure was unconsciously testified to by the people who sprang up to minister to his particular wants. His outfit, and the care of his children and his property were all recognised as requiring special attention. Grammars of the native languages were offered him,[146] and, in 1772, "Irwin and Duncan, at the

*William Barwell, Governor of Bengal in 1748, Director 1753-66, and father of Richard Barwell.

†Stephen Law, father-in-law of John Cartier, and Director 1746-56.

‡Laurence Sulivan, Director at various intervals between 1755 and 1783.

¶Timothy Tullie, Director 1750-63, and father-in-law of Sir Lionel Darell.

*Before the Regulating Act of 1773, the proprietor of 500 pounds' worth of stock was entitled to one vote, and no more, no matter how much above 500 pounds' worth he held. Therefore, an individual who held more than one 500 pound block could exert greater influence by placing his surplus in the names of known supporters as dummies. This was known as "splitting" one's stock. After 1773, the owner of £ 1000 of stock had one vote, of £ 3000, two votes, of £ 6000, three votes, and of £ 10,000 or more, four votes. Moreover, to vote, proprietors must have held their stock for at least 12 months, instead of 6, as formerly. This attempt to do away with "splitting" was only partially successful. Thus, £ 10,000 could still be made to command ten votes instead of four.

Crown and Glove, Panton-Street, Haymarket" would supply "printed Lists" of the "Necessaries proper to take out", and furnish linen wardrobes on "reasonable Terms".[147] In 1783, James Macpherson and Samuel Hannay, whose Indian connections have been noted,[148] requested Hastings to circulate that they had together set up in business as joint agents or attornies for East Indians to whom "the latter might remit their fortunes with safety", and that they would have no "other avocations", but concern themselves solely with this.[149]

The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* for June 25, 1784, contains the advertisement of a "Gentlewoman" soliciting the care of two or three "little strangers" sent home from India.

KEY TO REFERENCES, CHAPTER IV

[1] Town and Country Magazine, 1771, p. 69.

[2] Seton-Karr, W. S., Editor: Selections From Calcutta Gazettes, Calcutta, 1865. Vol. II, p. 525. Reprint of June 30, 1791. Second prize was a smaller estate; third, a house in Islington. 1035 tickets @ 200 Sicca Rupees each.

[3] Public Advertiser, January 15th & 24th, 1774.

[4] I. O., Records of Bombay Civilians.

[5] Victoria History of Hampshire, III, 222.

[6] Dictionary of National Biography.

[7] Horsfield, T. W.: The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex. 2 vols., 1835. II, 203 et seq.

[8] Polwhele, Richard: The History of Devonshire. 3 vols., bound in one, 1792-1806. II, 181-182.

[9] Pub. Ad., April 4, 1769.

[10] Polwhele, op. cit., II, 181-182; for Lawrence's residence at Haldon, D. N. B.

[11] Hasted's Kent, I, 457; Wright & Sclater's Sterne's Eliza, 186; Baedeker's London, 1923, 446.

[12] Hasted's Kent, I, 477.

[13] Wright & Sclater's Sterne's Eliza, 35 et seq.

[14] Same references as No. 11.

[15] See Chapter I, 24-25.

[16] Memoirs of William Hickey, II, 306-307.

[17] Pub. Ad., Jan. 14, 1773.

[18] Dallaway, James: A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex. 2 vols., 1815. 159-160.

[19] Pub. Ad., Dec. 4, 1784.

[20] Notes and Queries, 11th Series, IX, 30.

[21] Notes and Queries, 11th Series, IX, 30; Neale's Views of Seats, 2nd Series, 1824, vol. I.

[22] See p. 25.

[23] Pub. Ad., Nov. 4, 1784.

[24] Neale, op. cit.

[25] Notes and Queries, 11th Series, XI, 115.

[26] Lysons' Magna Brittania. Berks vol., p. 238.

[27] Neale, op. cit., 2nd Series, vol. II.

[28] Pub. Ad., Nov. 5, 1783.

[29] Woodward, B. B., Wilks, T. C., and Lockhart, Charles: General History of Hampshire, II, 339.

[30] Shaw's History of Staffordshire, vol. III, part I, p. 283.

[31] Gentleman's Magazine, 1806, 388.

[32] Clutterbuck's History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford, II, 475.

[33] Pub. Ad., June 12, 1772. Dec. 26, 1780.

[34] Hickey, op. cit., II, 310 et seq.

[35] Pub. Ad., Aug. 30, 1784; London Chronicle, July 10-13, 1784.

[36] W. H. P., Add. Ms. 29152, fol. 336b. 20th January, 1782.

[37] Parker's General Ad. & Morning Intelligencer, Aug. 19, 1784.

[38] Pub. Ad., Feb. 1, 3, 1772.

[39] Hickey, op. cit., II, 261; II, 309; Pub. Ad., Aug. 9, 1784.

[40] The Jockey Club, or a Sketch of the Manners of the Age. Anonymous pamphlet, 2nd edition, Dublin, 1792, pp. 15-16. (The author was Charles Pigott). Baker's Biographia Dramatica, IV, 69 et seq. Pub. Ad., March 13, 1773; July 26, Aug. 5, 12, 1784.

[41] List of Sheriffs in Berry's Berks Pedigrees.

[42] Town and Country Magazine, 1776, p. 345.

[43] Grand's Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident in India, pp. 26-27.

[44] Ibid, p. 25.

[45] Black, Robert: The Jockey Club and Its Founders, p. 135.

[46] The Racing Calendar; containing An Account of the Plates, Matches, and Sweepstakes Run for in Great Britain and Ireland in the Year 1784. . . . By James Weatherby, Keeper of the Match-Book at Newmarket, London, 1784, p. XLVIII.

[47] Racing Calendar, May 24, 1780; Curzon, Louis Henry: The Blue Ribbon of the Turf. A Chronicle of the Race for the Derby, p. 231.

[48] The Turf Register and Sportsman's and Breeder's Studbook. By R. Johnson, York, 1822. III, 467. Black, op. cit., 136.

[49] Pub. Ad., Sept. 25, 1784.

[50] W. H. P., Add. Ms. 29157, fol. 344. Scott to Hastings, "Private", 1 Jan., 1783.

[51] Gloucester Journal, April 5, 1784.

[52] Pub. Ad., July 26, Aug. 5, 7, 12, Sept. 30, 1784.

[53] Ibid.

[54] List of India Stock Proprietors, 1773.

[55] Parliamentary History.

[56] The Jockey Club, or a Sketch of the Manners of the Age, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[57] Faulkner, Thomas: History and Antiquities of Brentford, Ealing, and Chiswick, p. 232.

[58] Pub. Ad., Dec. 12, 1772; Jan. 1, 1773.

[59] D. N. B.

[60] Ibid, under Boyd, Walter.

[61] Four page pamphlet in the New York Public Library: Case of Paul Benfield, Esq. Partner in the House established in London under the Firm of Boyd Benfield and Company, concerning his relative position with Walter Boyd Senr., Esq. (Also a Partner in that House) and with the late Paris House of Boyd Ker and Company.

[62] D. N. B.

[63] Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs, I, 267.

[64] Benfield's Pamphlet, op. cit.

[65] Wraxall, op. cit., I, 267.

[66] D. N. B., under Boyd Walter.

[67] Wraxall, op. cit., I, 267.

[68] Ibid; Benfield's Pamphlet.

[69] D. N. B., under Boyd, Walter.

[70] Benfield's Pamphlet, op. cit.

[71] Wraxall, op. cit., I, 267.

[72] Prinsep's Madras Civilians, 117; Manning and Bray's Surrey, II, 476-477.

[73] Palk Ms., p. 17, footnote 1; Manning and Bray, ibid.

[74] Betham's Baronetage, III, 399, footnote; Cussans' Hertfordshire, II, 54; Pub. Ad., Aug. 29, 1783.

[75] Bath Chronicle, July 15, 1784.

[76] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29166, fol. 254b. Pybus to Hastings, 8 Oct., 1784.

[77] D. N. B.; G. E. C., Complete Baronetage.

[78] See p. 12. Also Parliamentary History, vol. XXV, col. 252 et seq.

[79] Gilbert, Davies: Parochial History of Cornwall, IV, 10; D. N. B.; G. E. C., Complete Baronetage.

[80] Gilbert, op. cit., IV, 10.

[81] Parliamentary Return; D. N. B.

[82] G. E. C., Complete Baronetage.

[83] For Call as an Engineer, D. N. B.; for his other pursuits, Gilbert, op. cit., IV, 10.

[84] D. N. B.; G. E. C., op. cit.

[85] D. N. B.

[86] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29166, fol. 27. Call to Hastings, 3 Sept., 1784.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Lysons' Mag. Brit., Cornwall, p. 33.

[89] See p. 54.

[90] D. N. B.; Pub. Ad., Dec. 1, 1774.

[91] Pub. Ad., Dec. 1, April 27, 1773.

[92] D. N. B.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757.

[95] Horsfield's History of Sussex, II, 203 et seq.

[96] Foote, Samuel: The Nabob, Act I.

[97] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29160, fol. 148. Scott to Mrs. Hastings, 25 July, 1783.

[98] Hasted's History and Topography of the County of Kent, III, 36-39.
[99] See list of Directors in Princep's Records of Madras Civilians.
[100] Hasted, op. cit., III, 36-39.
[101] Monckton-Jones, M. E.: Warren Hastings in Bengal, p. 114, footnote 2. A quotation from an anonymous "Short Review of the British Empire in India", Add. Ms. 29209, no. 9, p. 195.
[102] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29156, fol. 123. Scott to Hastings, quoting Caillaud on what should be the attitude of Hastings's friends in the face of his intended removal. (Copy, no original.)
[103] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29134, fol. 95. Sam Packer? to Hastings.
[104] Pub. Ad., July 10, 1773.
[105] Hunter's The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves, pp. 90-91.
[106] Ibid, p. 165.
[107] Records of Bengal Civilians.
[108] Hunter, op. cit., p. 165.
[109] Manning and Bray's Surrey, II, 380-381; Victoria History of Surrey, IV, 322.
[110] Records of Bengal Civilians.
[111] Same as Reference 109.
[112] Hunter, op. cit., p. 105. D. N. B.
[113] Ibid, p. 166.
[114] Memoirs of William Hickey, III, 205.
[115] Polwhele's History of Devonshire, I, 309.
[116] See p. 103.
[117] Palk Ms., pp. LXIII-LXVI.
[118] Devon Notes and Queries, vol. IV, part I, p. 227.
[119] General Evening Post, May 8-11, 1784.
[120] Ibid, June 27, 1781. Racing Calendar, May 29, 1782; July 30, 1783.
[121] Pub. Ad., July 17, 1784.
[122] Pub. Ad., March 8, 1768.
[123] Pub. Ad., Jan. 6, 1768; May 25, 1784. May 10, 1768; April 25, 1772. March 18, 1773.
[124] Ibid. April 3, 1769; Dec. 28, 1772; March 8, 1773; May 21, 1773; Dec. 6, 1780; Sept. 24, 1783.
[125] Ibid, Aug. 13, 1773.
[126] Ibid, May 4, 1773.
[127] Ibid, April 27, 1769; July 7, Aug. 12, 1772; Aug. 13, 1773; March 8, Aug. 9, 1783.
[128] London Trade Guide, 1768, p. 157.
[129] Chancellor E. B.: History of the Squares of London, p. 36.
[130] Ibid, p. 40.
[131] India Stock Proprietors List, 1773.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Pub. Ad., June 17, 1784.
[134] D. N. B.
[135] Ibid.
[136] India Stock Proprietors List, 1773.

[137] Pub. Ad., June 18, 1768.

[138] Wright and Sclater's Sterne's Eliza, p. 37.

[139] Dasent, A. I.: The History of St. James's Square, pp. 229, 231, for Middleton's residence, Gentleman's Magazine, 1807, p. 1084.

[140] India Stock Proprietors List, 1773.

[141] London Trade Guide, 1749, 1755, 1757, 1760, 1768.

[142] Hickey, op. cit., II, 97.

[143] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29154, fol. 340, Scott to Hastings, June 20, 1782. Fol. 478b, Woodman to Hastings, June 24, 1782.

[144] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29156, fol. 343b et seq. Scott to Hastings, Nov. 5, 1782.

[145] Pub. Ad., May 27, 1784.

[146] General Evening Post, March 30, April 1, 1784; Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser, May 12, 1784.

[147] Pub. Ad., Jan. 15, 1772.

[148] See pp. 109 and 60.

[149] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29161, fol. 53. James Macpherson and Samuel Hannay to Hastings, 28 Oct., 1783.

CHAPTER V

ANGLO-INDIAN INFLUENCES IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND

How far the wealth brought back by the Nabobs was responsible for the Industrial Revolution is a vexed question. The extreme claim, set forth by Brooks Adams in *The Law of Civilisation and Decay* and accepted by Digby in *"Prosperous" British India,* is that Indian silver expanded British credit sufficiently to make available adequate capital for the utilisation of the new inventions in the organisation of industry on a modern scale. Digby maintains that "between Plassey and Waterloo" probably 1000,000,000 pounds "was transferred from Indian hoards to English banks".[1] To quote Adams: "Very soon after Plassey the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous, for all authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution'. . . . began with the year 1762."[2] "The arrival of the Bengal silver not only increased the mass of money but stimulated its movement; for at once, in 1759, the bank issued £10 and £15 notes, and, in the country, private firms poured forth a flood of paper."[3] "After 1760 a complex system of credit sprang up, based on a metallic treasure . . ."[4]

In *The Trade Relations Between England and India, 1600-1896,* C. J. Hamilton, Minto Professor of Economics at Calcutta University, contests Adams at every point. Hamilton not only denies that the industrial Revolution began in 1760[5], but calls the belief that great quantities of Indian silver were sent to England "ludicrous",[6] and among other arguments on which he bases that opinion, the following certainly seems conclusive:

"In the Report of 1783 reasons are given why the tribute sent to England took the form of goods comprising the Company's investment. 'To send it in silver,' says the Report, 'was subject to two manifest inconveniences. First, the country would be exhausted of its circulating medium; second, to send silver into Europe would be to send it from the best to the worst market.'"[7]

"The fact is that an export of silver would have been extremely unprofitable. By the purchase of bills of ordinary commodities a remittance could be obtained at an exchange usually varying from 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d. per rupee. By exporting silver to London an ex-

change of about 1s. 9d. would have been realised. It is not likely that private individuals in remitting their fortunes would have submitted needlessly to such a loss. When the purchase of ordinary commodities or of bills fell short it was cheaper for individuals to send diamonds which even members of the Supreme Council were allowed by the regulation of 1774 to purchase for this purpose." [8]

It is well known that the constant cashing of bills of exchange on London became such a source of weakness to the Company's English finances that it was necessary to limit the total amount which might be so remitted, after which the servants frequently applied to the French and Dutch Companies for bills on Europe.[9]

Hickey clearly indicates how unusual was the individual who would literally attempt to take his rupees home with him. He has an anecdote of "a Captain Bentley" who "little removed from an idiot" and "by nature suspicious" "had conceived that no bills could be secure". "He therefore determined to take the amount he possessed with him in cash, which was accordingly deposited in eight strong wooden boxes and the freight paid for them." [10]

Having penetrated the smoke, let us look at the fire. "There indeed was an important change in the nature of the Company's transactions after Plassey. For the space of some twenty-five years the export of bullion to the East practically ceased. Possibly some fifteen million pounds was retained in England in this way which would otherwise have been exported to the East, although not wholly to India." [11] This sum plus a relatively small quantity of Indian gold, may well have contributed to the expansion of credit.

On his arrival in England in 1782, Scott wrote Hastings:

> The Nation is in a strange state & yet would you believe it Lord North has absolutely received offers for 70 Million Sterling. . . . Our Trade has certainly fallen off, but there never was so much money in the Kingdom as at present. I brought to London about 200 Gold Mohurs, Plumber [?] the man who melted them, told me that for these 12 Years last past, he has not melted into Barrs of Gold, less than a Ton & a half of Mohurs & Pagodas. —this is about 150 thousand Pounds each Year, if we add this to five hundred thousand Pounds which the Directors formerly sent out of the Kingdom each Year, at the least, it will account for the present great Quantity of Specie in England.[12]

Diamonds fell in value because of the quantities imported by the Nabobs, which captivated the popular imagination.[13] While sojourning at Tunbridge Wells Mrs. Hastings had to deny a report that she

wore 20,000 pounds worth of pearls and diamonds to a ball.[14] A more sinister import was attached to the Nabobs' jewels; the only "foible" of the King was declared to be "an extravagant fondness for diamonds",[15] and both Clive and Hastings were said judiciously to have gratified his weakness.[16]

Lord Pigot, who owned the most celebrated of Nabob diamonds, brought back with him the stone that bore his name. Among the finest in Europe, the weight of the Pigot Diamond was variously estimated at from 47 to 82 carats.[17] In 1800 it was disposed of by lottery for 24,000 pounds, and was, four years later, said to have been purchased for the Empress Josephine's necklace. Its last owner was Ali Pasha of Egypt. He paid 30,000 pounds for it, and then ordered it to be crushed to powder, when on his death-bed in 1822.[18]

In India the Nabobs had adapted native conditions to their own convenience, evolving the Anglo-Indian household. A few of its distinctive ways of life made some impression upon contemporary England. Curry was added to the pleasures of the table. It was a specialty of the Norris Street Coffee House, Haymarket, as early as 1773.[19] Eleven years later it was still sufficiently strange to be credited with undeserved virtues. Sorlie's Perfumery Warehouse, 23 Piccadilly, near Air Street, advertised in 1784 that curry: "renders the Stomach active in Digestion—the Blood naturally free in Circulation—the Mind vigorous,—and contributes most of any Food to an increase of the Human Race".[20]

In Henry Mackenzie's "Influence of the Neighborhood of a rich Asiatic", published in 1785, "John Homespun" laments that:

> Our barn-door fowls, we used to say, were so fat and well tasted, we now make awkward attempts, by garlic and pepper, to turn into the form of curries and peelaws; and the old October we were wont to brag all our neighbours with, none of the family but myself will condescend to taste, since they drank Mr. Mushroom's India Madeira.[21]

Madeira was peculiarly the Nabob's wine, as it was the only one which improved with keeping in a hot climate; thus that which had been in India was particularly prized. The executors of the estate of "Charles Smith, Esq. Late Governor of Madras", had to dispose of "About Three Hundred Dozen of excellent highflavoured madeira, having been in India many years, . . ."[22]

The native servants brought back by the Nabobs shared the unpopularity of their masters;[23] the good souls who found a French "mounseer" a strange being must have recoiled at a Bengalee. More

substantial reasons were alleged: "these Wretches" enabled "the rich Culprits of India" to evade their debts by swearing falsely that they had "been sent with the Money".[24] Yet they seem to have attained a certain vogue; the advertisements of East Indian footmen and valets appeared occasionally in the papers.[25]

Although we do not usually think of the East as teaching us hygiene, "Asiatic Toothpowder", the prepartion of which was "still kept in India a Secret from Europeans" and "Toothbrushes, from Indian hair and pattern" were advertised in 1784.[26]

While still in India the Nabob might send home things curious or interesting. Colonel Gilbert Ironside sent Josiah Wedgwood, the potter, samples of the Bengal earths for experiment.[27] Animals shipped from India included a civet cat,[28] a bull, "not bigger than an ass", presented to the Queen,[29] a tiger,[30] and in 1784 attention was attracted by "a remarkable fine young lion" for the Tower, presented "by William Hornby, Esq; late Governor of Bombay", and said to be the first of its species successfully brought from the East Indies.[31]

The growth of interest in India, with the attendant increase in travel thither, resulted in efforts to mitigate the discomforts of the long voyage. The Company's ships held a position analogous to that of the great transatlantic liners nowadays; their galleys, in particular, set a new standard of marine cookery. The cook might have served his time "in one of the first Tavern Kitchens in Town",[32] and when the ship was in port, London Aldermen would not disdain the Captain's invitation to dine on board.[33] At sea, a bon vivant like Hickey was impressed with the excellence of his first meal, and "agreeably surprized by being told we should have as good a dinner as we then saw before us every day during our voyage, which certainly was the case".[34]

India was something of a haven for painters at this period. Kettle and Zoffany; John Alefounder, Ozias Humphry, and John Smart, the miniaturists; William Hodges, Thomas and William Daniell, Thomas Hickey, and George Farington, all went thither.[35] The principal attractions, however, seem to have been commissions from native princes rather than from Anglo-Indians, and the opportunity to paint new and strange scenes.[36]

Returned Nabobs sat frequently for their portraits. Reynolds painted Sir William James,[37] as he did Richard Barwell, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Vansittart,[38] J. Z. Holwell,[39] General Stringer Law-

rence, Sir Hector Munro,[40] Mrs. Carnac,[41]* and "probably" Lady Rumbold.[42] Vansittart also sat for Nathaniel Dance, and Hogarth depicted him as a Medmenham Franciscan.[43] Eyles Irwin [44] and Mrs. Verelst [45] sat for Romney. There is an engraving of Major Scott after Masquerier, who also did Warren Hastings [46] and one of Sir Thomas Rumbold after Thomas Stothard, better known as an illustrator.[47] Lord Pigot was painted twice, once by "—— Powell",[48] presumably John Powell, pupil and assistant of Reynolds,[49] and once "on horseback" [50] by George Stubbs, the celebrated animal painter, who also did Hastings with his favorite Arabian.[51] Richard Smith, Rumbold, Sir Francis Sykes, and Major Scott were dealt with in the series of scandalous tête-à têtes in the *Town and Country Magazine,*[52] and supposed likenesses of them appeared in this connection. Judged by that of Clive, who was noticed in the same manner,[53] they are fairly true to life.

In literature the Anglo-Indians exerted a dual influence: as authors themselves, and, much more often, as the inspirers or butts of verse and prose written by others.

Robert Orme was "the Thucydides of Anglo-Indian history".[54] He was born at Anjengo in 1728, the second son of Alexander Orme, H.E.I.C.S., surgeon and Chief at that place. When little more than an infant he was sent to England, and was at Harrow from, approximately, 1734 to 1741. In 1742 he returned to India in the employ of a private mercantile firm at Calcutta, and the following year he entered the Company's service as a Writer. Orme very early began to collect materials for his treatise, and with the passing of time, his own rise in the service enabled him to do so to unique advantage. He knew Clive and other leading actors in the drama; from 1754 to 1758 he was a Member of Council at Madras. In the latter year impaired health determined him to quit India.[55]

The autumn of 1760 saw Orme established at a house in Harley Street, where he formed a library and arranged his materials. Volume I of his great work, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from 1745,* appeared in 1763; volume II, bound in two parts, followed in 1778. In his lifetime the historian was complimented by Sir William Jones and Robertson; Macaulay and Malleson have also praised his history, although not unqualifiedly. It is, perhaps, excessively minute. It was republished

*This portrait is in the Wallace Collection.

a number of times, and long retained its vitality. An edition appeared as late as 1861.[56]

The East India Company appointed Orme its historiographer at a salary of 400 pounds per annum.[57] He moved among a cultivated circle; Dr. Johnson was "much pleased" at "praise from such a man".[58] About 1792 he retired to Great Ealing, Middlesex, and died there in 1801.[59]

An Anglo-Indian historian of much less lasting fame, and probably much less solid merit, than Orme, was Colonel Alexander Dow. Little is known of his private life. The story goes that complicity in a fatal duel compelled him to flee from his native Scotland, that he worked his way to Bencoolen as a common sailor, became secretary to the Governor there, and was recommended to the Company's officials at Calcutta.[60] We know that in 1760 he was commissioned a second lieutenant, rising to a lieutenant-colonelcy nine years later, and dying at Boglepore in 1779.[61]

In 1768, however, he had visited England on furlough, and in the same year he published in London his two volume *History of Hindostan,* which was afterwards apparently enlarged.[62] Dow took an extremely unfavorable view of British deeds in India. His work attained great popularity, and Joseph Price in his pamphlet, *The Saddle Put On the Right Horse,* mentions Dow's History as among the primary causes of the prejudice aroused against East Indians.[63]

Emboldened by his success, Dow next turned his attention to the drama. Two plays by him were produced at the Drury Lane Theatre. *Zingis,* a Tartar "tragedy", was acted with "some success" [64] in 1769.[65] "Zingis Chan" was apparently the character now better known as Genghis Khan. The last verse of the prologue is as follows:

> "Such is the subject—such the Poet's theme,
> If a rough Soldier may assume that name;
> Who does not offer you from Fancy store,
> Manners and men.—On India's burning shore,
> In warlike toils, he pass'd his youthful years,
> And met the Tartar, in the strife of spears;
> But tho' he liv'd amidst the cannon's roar,
> Thunder like yours he never fac'd before;
> Listen indulgent to his artless strain,
> Nor let a Soldier, quarter ask in vain."

The "artless strain" is a rather heavy verse. More justified is the description of the piece as a tragedy; it claims to be based on a native story in which the heroine dies of grief and her father and lover meet violent ends.[66] *Sethona,* Dow's other "tragedy", is a play of ancient Egypt.[67] Garrick brought it out elaborately in 1774, sparing "no expence as a manager, no pains as a man of taste" in the selection of scenery and costumes.[68] It ran only nine nights[69]*

Eyles Irwin was born at Calcutta in 1751, the son of Captain James Irwin, H. E. I. C. S.,[71] who came from Roscommon, Ireland.[72] He was sent to England for his education, first under Mr. Rose at Chiswick, and then in London, where he prepared for the Company's service.[73] He arrived at Madras as a Writer in 1767.[74] The overthrow of Lord Pigot, in which he had sided with the deposed Governor, compelled him to return to England ten years later.[75] He published an account of his journey home under the title: *A Series of Adventures In the Course of a voyage up the Red Sea, on the coasts of Arabia and Egypt, and of a Route through the deserts of Thebais . . . in the year MDCCLXXVII.* This ran through three editions,[76] and was translated into French.[77]

While still at Madras Irwin had begun to publish verse. *St. Thomas's Mount. A Poem written by a Gentleman in India* was completed toward the end of 1772,[78] and published in London in 1774.[79] Its three cantos, covering forty pages, are generally descriptive of India. The author seems to have been struck by the absence of game laws:

> "Mourn, Britons! mourn an act your laws ordain
> Once feel inferior to the Indian swain, . . .
> The Hare, the Partridge, or the stately Deer,
> Is his, in common with the richest Peer."

He also deplores the loss of Henry Vansittart on the "Aurora", and praises him highly. "To latest times the truly good shall live."

Irwin wrote numerous other pieces of poetry;[80] only a few may be mentioned here.[81] *Bedukah, or the Self-Devoted* has for its theme the "suttee" practice of Hindu women.[82] *Eastern Eclogues,* London, 1780, are principally Asiatic rather than Indian. Another piece is entitled: *Ode to Robert Brooke, Esq., occasioned by the Death of*

*Baker's Biographia Dramatica casts doubt on the authenticity of Dow's authorship of these works. "It is generally thought from the assistance he received, that very little of them could be called his own." (70)

Hyder Ally, London, 1784.[83] Not all of his subjects were Oriental; the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars furnished some.[84] He may also have written a comic opera. *The Bedouins; or, Arabs of the Desert* was acted at the Theatre Royal, Crow Street, Dublin, and published in 1802, "with corrections and additions by Eyles Irwin Esq. M. R. I. A.*".[85] Baker's Biographia Dramatica says that "it deserved better success than it met with" and implies that Irwin was not only the reviser but the author.[86]

From 1780 to 1785, Irwin was again in India. The Court of Directors granted him a special reward of 6000 pagodas for his work, and sent him in 1792 on a mission to China.[87] While there he wrote an essay on the origin of chess, which was communicated to the Royal Irish Academy.[88]

Irwin retired from the service in 1794,[89] and had apparently purchased an estate in Northern Ireland.[90] He married in 1778, Honor, daughter of the Rev. William Brooke of County Longford. His eldest son, Captain James Brooke Irwin, was killed in the assault on Fort Erie in 1814, and the poet wrote an elegy to his memory.[91] He died at Clifton, near Bristol, in 1817.[92]

The Nabobs were frequently touched upon in writings most of which, however, are noteworthy rather as reflecting contemporary opinion than for any intrinsic literary distinction. Some of these more or less fugitive pieces are mentioned elsewhere in these pages. On February 27, 1773, "a new Tragedy call'd Alonzo" received its première at the Drury Lane Theatre.[93] The opening lines of the prologue follow:

> "Whilst ardent Zeal for India's Reformation,
> Hath fir'd the Spirit of a generous Nation;
> Whilst Patriots of presented Lacks complain,
> And Courtiers Bribery to Excess arraign;
> The Maxims of Bengal still rule the stage,
> The Players are your Slaves from Age to Age.
> Like Eastern Princes in this House you sit,
> The Soubahs and Nabobs of suppliant wit;
> Each Bard his Present brings when he draws near,
> With Prologue first he soothes your gracious Ear;
> . . . . . ."[94]

*Member Royal Irish Academy.

More restrained in tone, and therefore more forceful than the usual unfavorable picture is Colin Maclaurin's *Ode Inscribed To the Conquerors of the East:*

"Behold this predatory Lord,
By sycophantic fools ador'd,
Magnificence displays:
But yet his melancholy air,
Shows discontent, if not despair,
Upon his vitals preys.
Else why, amid extreme parade,
His eye austere, his temper bad,
His countenance demure." [95]

Richard Barwell,* with his characteristic lavishness of expense and unfortunate disposition, was, perhaps, a conspicuous example of the type thus described.

Clive himself may have drawn Foote's Fire and inspired the most memorable of Nabob caricatures. On March 30, 1772, speaking in defence of East Indians in the House of Commons, Clive said: "There has not yet been one character found amongst them sufficiently flagitious for Mr. Foote to exhibit on the theatre in the Haymarket . . ." [96] On June 29 *The Nabob* by Samuel Foote was, for the first time,[97] exhibited "on the theatre in the Haymarket." The plot is of secondary importance; it deals with the attempt of Sir Matthew Mite, a great Nabob, to marry a daughter of Sir John Oldham, M. P. and country gentleman. The latter is in debt to Mite, who, when his overtures are refused, becomes vindictive, but is checkmated by Sir John's younger brother, Thomas, a rich merchant.

Like his supposed prototype, General Richard Smith, Sir Matthew Mite is depicted as a gambler of low origin and boundless self-assurance, but it is hard to find more specific points of resemblance. In one place the thrust seems directed at Sir Thomas Rumbold; the Christian Club of the Borough of Bribe-em who offer their Parliamentary representation to Sir Matthew [98] is apparently an allusion to the Christian Club of Shoreham, which had been represented by Sir Thomas.*

Another true to life touch is Mite's query, in Act II, "O Nathan, did you tell that man in Berkshire I would buy his estate?" Berk-

*See pages 24-25.
*See page 52.

shire, with five Anglo-Indian sheriffs between 1772 and 1789,[99] was so much favored by the Nabobs as a residence that it was once referred to as "the English Hindostan".[100]

Sir Matthew is the composite Nabob of legend in frank travesty, made plausible by a clever veneer of superficial reality. To the audience, the piece, with its talk of "roupees" and "lacks" and "Meer Jaffier" doubtless had a journalistic vividness. The author evidently knew something of Anglo-Indian jargon and Anglo-Indian ways. Mite is seen splitting stock for the General Court, taking care to qualify "Peter Pratewell" and "Counsellor Quibble", and he offers to send Sir John Oldham's two other daughters to India for husbands, and to procure Writerships for his sons. Lady Oldham and her brother-in-law, Thomas, truly "only echo the voice of the public" in saying Mite is rich "from the ruin of others", and that he "has been made callous by crimes."[101] One of the issues between the Nabobs and their enemies is clearly joined:

Sir Matthew Mite: ". . . such is the gratitude of this country to those who have given it dominion and wealth."

Thomas Oldham: "I could wish even that fact was well founded, Sir Matthew. Your riches (which perhaps too are only ideal) by introducing a general spirit of dissipation, have extinguished labour and industry, the slow, but sure source of national wealth."[102]

The success of *The Nabob* apparently aroused such anger among East Indians that Foote's tact alone may have saved him a drubbing. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* tells how "two gentlemen, who had been in high situations in the East Indies, undertook personally to chastise the author for this insolence".[103]

Armed with oaken cudgels, and breathing vengeance, they called at Foote's house in Suffolk Street. He received them with such innocent politeness—"hoped the gentlemen would take some coffee"—that their most violent intentions were at once abated. Nevertheless, they immediately launched into a passionate representation of "the insult which particular persons of character and fortune had sustained by the licentiousness of his pen; and for no other reason, than because Providence had favoured their industry and adventuring spirit with a suitable remuneration". "They were proceeding in this manner but rising into choler and irritability every moment", when Foote again mollified them. He convinced them that he had no particular person in mind, that he had only intended a "*general* satire

on the *unworthy* part of the nabob gentry", and "that he took up his story from popular report". In the end, Foote's visitors were, according to the raconteur, so charmed with him, that they not only had coffee but stayed to dinner, and remained until three in the morning.

> The next day they talked of nothing but Foote; his wit, his humour, his politeness, and his hospitality . . . in short his peace was not only fully established with the *East India Corps,* but they attended his theatre every night, and supported his piece through the whole course of the season.

The antidote to *The Nabob* is *The East Indian,* by M. G. Lewis, performed at Drury Lane Theatre in 1799.[104] "Rivers," Lewis's East Indian, is in every respect the reverse of Sir Matthew Mite. He perhaps illustrates how innocuous the term Nabob had become by the end of the century; although referred to as a "Nabob" of "immense wealth",[105] Rivers is a gentleman of perfect manners and almost quixotic character. He secretly enables his daughter's lover and seducer to gain his freedom from a debtor's prison that he may meet him in a duel, but relents and forgives the erring pair on their sincere contrition. Rivers is, indeed, a worthy forerunner of Colonel Newcome.

In *The Nabob,* Susanna Blamire (1747-1794), "the Muse of Cumberland," has made the Anglo-Indian a sympathetic vehicle for a song poignant with "the passion of the past". India and things Indian are nowhere mentioned, and the song is sometimes called simply "The Traveller's Return", after the "air" to which it was published.[106] But it was supposed to have been inspired by the actual experiences of a homecoming Nabob,[107] and eventually it "fell into the hands of a gentleman in India, Mr. Patrick Maxwell",[108] and so "fascinated him by its appropriateness to his own thoughts",[109] that when he returned home he was instrumental in securing the publication of the first collected edition of Susanna Blamire's works.[110]

The first of the eight stanzas follows:

> "When silent time, wi lightly foot,
> Had trod on thirty years,
> I sought again my native land
> Wi mony hopes and fears;
> Wha kens gin the dear friends I left
> May still continue mine?
> Or gin I e'er again shall taste
> The joys I left langsyne?"

With trepidation the Nabob approaches the house of his boyhood. He recognizes the doddering old servant who meets him at the door for one whom he left "in his prime". The old chairs remain, but the people who sat in them are gone, the girls are not as pretty as their mothers were, and the new songs, for all their art, have not the lilt of the old. At last:

> "Ye sons to comrades o' my youth,
> Forgie an auld man's spleen,
> Wha' midst your gayest scenes still mourns
> The days he ance has seen:
> When time has past, and seasons fled,
> Your hearts will feel like mine;
> And aye the song will most delight
> That minds ye o' langsyne!"

KEY TO REFERENCES, CHAPTER V

[1] Digby, W.: 'Prosperous' British India. A Revelation From Official Records, p. 33.

[2] Adams, Brooks: The Law of Civilization and Decay, p. 259 & seq.

[3] Adams, op. cit., p. 265.

[4] Ibid, p. 262.

[5] Hamilton, C. J.: The Trade Relations Between England and India, 1600-1896, p. 168 & seq.

[6] Ibid, 133 & seq.

[7] Ibid, 139.

[8] Ibid, 138 & seq.

[9] Mill & Wilson, History of British India, III, 445 & seq, 447 & seq; Parliamentary History, XXIII, 1193.

[10] Memoirs of William Hickey, II, 186.

[11] Hamilton, op. cit., 168.

[12] W. H. P. Add. Ms. 29152, fol. 335b. Scott to Hastings, 20 Jan. 1782.

[13] Pub. Ad., Sept. 10, 1772.

[14] Ibid, Oct. 12, 1784.

[15] Ibid, May 3, 1773.

[16] Ibid, May 20, 24, 1773; Morning Herald & Daily Ad., July 21, 1784. There was also a well known "nutcracker" cartoon, depicting the King swallowing diamonds thrown him by Hastings.

[17] Notes & Queries, 2nd Series, III, 71; 4th Series, III, 196; 7th Series, II, 248.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Pub. Ad., Dec. 6, 1773.

[20] Morning Herald, May 4, 1784.
[21] Mackenzie, Henry: Works, 8 vols. Edinburgh, 1808. V, 174.
[22] Morning Herald & Daily Ad., June 7, 1784.
[23] Pub. Ad., July 31, 1783.
[24] Ibid, same reference.
[25] Pub. Ad., March 16, May 29, 1772; July 17, 1773; Morning Herald & Daily Ad., May 20, Aug. 2, 1784.
[26] Morning Herald & London Ad., May 5, 1784; Parker's General Ad. & Morning Intelligencer, June 3, 1784; Morning Herald & Daily Ad., Aug. 24, 1784.
[27] Asiatic Annual Register, vol. IV, 1802, p. 43.
[28] Pub. Ad., Feb. 25, 1772.
[29] Ibid, July 12, 1784.
[30] Morning Herald & Daily Ad., June 18, 1784.
[31] Pub. Ad., June 28, July 14, 16, 1784.
[32] Ibid, Oct. 5, 1773.
[33] Ibid, Feb. 2, 1773.
[34] Hickey, op. cit., I, 133.
[35] D. N. B., under the respective names mentioned.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Wright & Sclater's Sterne's Eliza, p. 36.
[38] Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in The Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.
[39] D. N. B.
[40] Graves, Algernon: The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work, 1769-1904. 8 vols., alphabetically arranged. See under Reynolds. Gen. Lawrence's portrait in Sir G. Forrest's Clive.
[41] Brit. Mus. Catalog.
[42] Graves, op. cit.
[43] D. N. B., under Vansittart, Henry.
[44] Ibid, under Irwin, Eyles.
[45] Brit. Mus. Catalog.
[46] Ibid; D. N. B., under Masquerier, John James.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Brit. Mus. Catalog.
[49] D. N. B., under Powell, John.
[50] Brit. Mus. Catalog.
[51] D. N. B., under Stubbs, George.
[52] Town and Country Magazine.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Wright & Sclater, op. cit., p. 3.
[55] D. N. B.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Boswell's Life of Johnson, 2 vols., bound in one, Henry Frowde, 1904. I, 551, 589; II, 215.
[59] D. N. B.

[60] D. N. B.

[61] Dodwell & Miles, Indian Army List, pp. 82-83.

[62] The 1768 edition of Dow's History contains a brief ironical concluding passage which says that "the transactions of the BRITISH SUBAS in India, will furnish materials for a distinct history".

[63] D. N. B.; Price, op. cit., p. 32.

[64] D. N. B.

[65] Zingis, A Tragedy. As It Is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. By Alexander Dow. London, MDCCLXIX. New York Public Library.

[66] Ibid; see the prefatory "Advertisement".

[67] Sethona, A Tragedy. As It Is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. London, MDCCLXXIV.

[68] Ibid. See the prefatory "Advertisement". Dow himself was apparently in India at the time of the production.

[69] D. N. B.

[70] Baker, D. E.: Biographia Dramatica; or A Companion to the Playhouse. London, 1812. 4 vols., I, 195.

[71] D. N. B.; Baker, op. cit., II, 391; I. O., Writers Petitions, 1766, vol. 6, no. 7.

[72] Baker, op. cit., II, 391; European Magazine, 1789, vol. 15, p. 179.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid. D. N. B. Prinsep's Madras Civilians.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Notes and Queries, 4th Series, XI, 34.

[77] D. N. B.

[78] St. Thomas's Mount. A Poem written by a Gentleman in India. Preface dated "Fort St. George, 1st of January, 1773". British Museum. St. Thomas's Mount was in the environs of Madras.

[79] D. N. B.; Baker, op. cit.

[80] D. N. B.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Bedukah, or The Self-Devoted. Dedicated "To a Lady". "Fort St. George, 1st January, 1775." Brit. Mus.

[83] Copy of the Eastern Eclogues in the Brit. Mus.; Morning Herald & Daily Ad., July 13, 1784.

[84] D. N. B.

[85] Baker, op. cit., III, 53.

[86] Ibid.

[87] D. N. B.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] European Magazine, 1789, vol. 15, pp. 179-181.

[91] D. N. B.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Pub. Ad., Feb. 26, 1773. Advertisement announcing that "Alonzo" will be first performed "To-morrow".

[94] Pub. Ad., March 9, 1773.

[95] Maclaurin, Colin: Poetical and Dramatic Works. 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1812. II, 97-99.

[96] Parliamentary History, vol. XVII, cols. 356-357.

[97] D. N. B., under Foote, Samuel.

[98] The Nabob, Act II.

[99] See under Berkshire in Appendix.

[100] Pub. Ad., Nov. 4, 1784.

[101] The Nabob, op. cit.

[102] Ibid, Act III.

[103] Baker, op. cit., IV, 69 & seq.

[104] Lewis, M. G.: The East Indian: A Comedy in Five Acts. As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane. Second Edition. MDCCC. Also Baker, op. cit., III, 183.

[105] The East Indian, Act. I, scene I.

[106] Blamire, Susanna: Poetical Works. Collected by Henry Lonsdale, M. D., with a Preface, Memoir, and Notes, by Patrick Maxwell. Edinburgh, MDCCCXLII. "The Nabob," p. 198.

[107] Ibid, p. 198, note.

[108] D. N. B., under Blamire, Susanna.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

APPENDIX I

NABOBS AND THEIR CONNECTIONS IN PARLIAMENT, 1761-1784

The following Tables are based on the official Return of Members of Parliament,* sometimes amplified by the descriptions in the *Court and City Register* for the corresponding year, unless otherwise indicated.

TABLE I

Parliament summoned May 19, 1761; dissolved March 11, 1768

Nabobs.

Shrewsbury, Salop: Robert, Lord Clive.

Worcester City: John Walsh.
("A populous and opulent city, under the stigma of venality and corruption."—Oldfield, Vol II, 242.)

Wallingford, Berks: Sir George Pigot, Bart., returned 1765.
(An "open" borough.)

Ashburton, Devon: Robert Palk, returned 1767.
(By 1784, Palk was jointly with Lord Orford a proprietor of this borough. They owned the freeholds which gave a right to vote.—Robinson, p. 85; Oldfield, vol. I, pp. 222-224.)

Leominster, Hereford: John Carnac, returned February, 1768.
Proprietor: Chase Price.—Oldfield, II, 116-119.

Total: 5.

Returned under the patronage of Lord Clive.

Bishop's Castle, Salop: George Clive, "Cousin to Lord Clive, Brother-in-law to Mr. Justice Clive, and a Banker in London".
("The general part of the inhabitants of this borough are very poor, having no manufactory or trade, except that of electioneering.—Oldfield, II, 43.)

Montgomery, (town), Wales: Richard Clive, father of Lord Clive.

Total: 2, also John Walsh (see above), making 3 in all.

*Parliamentary Paper, 1878-79, Vols. X and XI: *Return of the Names of every member returned to serve in each Parliament from the year 1696 to 1876. . . . Also return from so remote a period as it can be obtained up to the year 1696.*

Nabob connection.

Berks. County: Arthur Vansittart, Brother of Henry and George, and of Anne, who married Robert Palk.—G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage,* vol V, p. 220; *Public Advertiser,* Feb. 11, 1761.

TABLE Ia

Votes of Nabobs in the Parliament of 1761, as recorded in the Parliamentary History

December 9, 1762: The minority opposed to accepting the preliminary treaty of peace with France and Spain included Lord Clive and John Walsh. (Vol. 15, cols. 1272-1273.)

February 17, 1768: The minority who voted for Sir George Savile's motion for leave to bring in a "Nullum tempus" bill included: John Carnac, Richard Clive, John Walsh. (Vol. 16, col. 412.) The bill would have abrogated the maxim "Nullum tempus occurit regi". Sir James Lowther had petitioned the Crown to let him some lands which had been in possession of the Duke of Portland's family for sixty years, on the ground that there was a flaw in the Duke's title which was derived from Royal grant, and so could not be nullified by lapse of time.

TABLE II

Parliament summoned May 10, 1768; dissolved September 30, 1774.

Numerals in parentheses after the names of constituencies or individuals indicate the number of times previously mentioned.

Nabobs.

Leominster, Hereford (2): John Carnac (2).

Shrewsbury, Salop (2): Robert, Lord Clive (2).

Leicester City: Eyre Coote.

Final vote: Hon. Mr. Grey, 1366; Col. Coote, 1334; Mr. Darker, 1284; Mr. Palmer, 1260.—*Public Advertiser,* April 9, 1768.

Cricklade, Wilts: Sir Robert Fletcher.

Fletcher had been the ringleader of the "double batta" mutiny in Bengal which had been suppressed by Clive, whose bitter enemy he consequently was.

Thirsk, York: William Frankland.

Proprietor: Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, brother of the above and the other member.—Robinson, p. 87; Oldfield, II, 281; D. N. B.

Arundell, Sussex: Lauchlan Macleane.

Macleane preceded Scott as Hastings' agent in England. The proprietor of this borough was then Sir George Colebrooke, Chairman of the East India Company.—Oldfield, II, 167.

Fortrose, etc., Ross, Scotland: Lt.-Col. Hector Munro.

Wareham, Dorset: Robert Palk.

Proprietor: John Calcraft. (See footnote, p. 33.)—Oldfield, I, 218.

Bridgnorth, Salop: George, Lord Pigot (2). (In Table I as Sir George Pigot, Bart.) "The right of election in this town is in the freeman, resident and non-resident, the majority of whom are of the latter description. Voters are therefore brought from every part of the kingdom to an election, at a most enormous expense, and carried home again at the charge of the candidates. This . . . precludes any but a corrupt, or a very rich man from offering his services to the people."—Oldfield, II, 38.

New Shoreham, Sussex: Thomas Rumbold, returned 1770.

Pontefract, York: Henry Strachey.

The election was marked by a considerable riot, in which Strachey's voters were set upon by a mob.—*Pub. Ad.*, March 26, April 20, 27, May 7, 1768. The other member, who contested in partnership with Strachey, was Viscount Galway. His son, the Hon. Edward Monckton, was then in the Company's civil service.

Shaftesbury, Dorset: Francis Sykes, returned 1771.

Reading, Berks: Henry Vansittart.

Final Vote: Vansittart, 400; John Dod, 398; John Bindley, 193.—*Pub. Ad.*, March 20, 1768.

Worcester City (2): John Walsh (2).

Total: 14.

Returned under the patronage of Lord Clive.

Bishop's Castle, Salop (2): George Clive (2) and, until 1770, William Clive, then Alexander Wedderburn.

Montgomery (town), Wales (2): Richard Clive (2), deceased, succeeded in 1771 by Frederick Cornewall.

Worcester City (2): Henry Crabb Boulton, then 1773, Thomas Bates Rous.—See pp. 52-54.

Total: 4, also John Walsh and Henry Strachey (see above), making

6 in all.—See letter from Clive to Verelst, Dec. 1767, in Forrest's Clive, II, p. 361.

Close connections of Nabobs.

Wallingford, Berks (2): Robert Pigot, brother of Lord Pigot.—See G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, vol. V, p. 133. Succeeded, on his appointment as Warden of the Mint in 1772, by John Cator, whose son, William Cator, had been a Writer in Bengal since 1771. —I. O., *Records of Bengal Civilians; Writers Petitions*, vol. VII, 1770, No. 10.

Penryn, Cornwall: Hugh Pigot, "brother to Lord Pigot, a Colonel of Marines and Captain, R. N."

Berks. County (2): Arthur Vansittart (2). Brother of Henry Vansittart, and brother-in-law of Robert Palk. (See above.)

Total: 3, then 2.

TABLE IIA

Votes of Nabobs in the Parliament of 1768, as recorded in the Parliamentary History.

January 9, 1770. The minority who voted for amending the address of thanks to the King's Speech included: John Carnac, George Clive, Henry Strachey, John Walsh. (Vol. 16, col. 27.)

January 25, 1770: The minority who voted against amending Mr. Dowdeswell's motion "That in matters of Elections this House is bound to judge according to the Law of the Land" included: John Carnac, Lord Clive, George Clive, William Frankland, Henry Strachey, John Walsh.—Vol. 16, col. 798. Dowdeswell's motion would, in effect, have denied the right of the House to unseat Wilkes.

February 6, 1772. The minority who supported the Clerical Petition praying to be relieved from compulsory subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles included: George Clive and William Frankland.—Vol. 17, col. 296.

February 25, 1774. Division on the motion for perpetuating the Grenville Act to try disputed elections. The motion was carried although opposed by Lord North. For the motion: John Carnac, George Clive, William Frankland, Robert Palk, Lord Pigot, Henry Strachey, John Walsh. Opposed: Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Robert Fletcher, Thomas Rumbold.—Vol. 17, col. 1074.

TABLE III

Parliament summoned November 29, 1774; dissolved September 1, 1780.

Nabobs.

Wallingford, Berks (3): Sir Robert Barker.

Poole, Dorset: Sir Eyre Coote, K.B. (2).

A "Treasury borough", but with a disputed right of franchise.—Oldfield, I, 298. At this election a majority of the inhabitants tried to vote for Charles Fox and John Williams, who stood against Coote and Joshua Mauger. Result of the poll: Fox 141, Williams 138, Coote 59, Mauger 56. The return was nevertheless made against the two former, and the House decided against them on petition.—*Pub. Ad.*, Oct. 21 and 22, 1774, also Oldfield.

West Looe, Cornwall: William James.

Inverness Borough, Scotland: Lt.-Col. Hector Munro (2).

Ashburton, Devon (2): Robert Palk (3).

Bridgnorth, Salop (2): Henry Strachey (2). Appointed Clerk of Deliveries of the Ordnance, 1778, succeeded by Alexander Wedderburn. Strachey served for Saltash, Cornwall, 1778-1780.

Callington, Cornwall: George Stratton. Returned 1778, his election declared void, returned again 1779. The patrons of this borough were Lord Orford and the Duke of Bedford.—Oldfield, I, 172. In 1783 Robinson wrote that Orford's ascendancy was disputed by a "Mr. Coryton, near the place".—p. 72.

Worcester City (3): John Walsh.

See p. 54.

Cricklade, Wilts (2): John Macpherson, returned April 29, 1779,

Total: 10.

Lord Clive was returned for Shrewsbury; he died November 22, 1774.

Richard Smith was twice returned for Hindon; his election was declared void each time.

Francis Sykes and Thomas Rumbold were returned for Shaftesbury; their election was declared void.

TABLE IIIa

Votes of Nabobs in the Parliament of 1774, as recorded in the Parliamentary History.

Division List on Dunning's motion "that the influence of the crown

has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished". April 6, 1780. Carried by a majority of 18. For the motion: Robert Palk and John Walsh. Opposed: Sir Robert Barker, Henry Strachey, Sir William James, George Stratton.—Vol. XXI, col. 368.

TABLE IV

Parliament summoned October 31, 1780; dissolved March 25, 1784.

Nabobs.

Helston, Cornwall: Richard Barwell, returned March 12, 1781.

Cricklade, Wilts (3): Paul Benfield. He had, apparently, first unsuccessfully contested Marlow, for which he petitioned.—*Pub. Ad.* Nov. 2.

West Looe, Cornwall (2): Sir William James (2).

Stafford Borough: Hon. Edward Monckton.

Public Advertsier, Sept. 20, 1780. "Extract of a Letter from Stafford. 'You will no doubt, be surprised to hear of the Revolution that has taken Place in this Town, and the total Overthrow of Whitworth's Interest. You cannot imagine the Spirit with which the Opposition has been carried on against him. Mr. Sheridan's Recommendations and Carriage were such as to make him so popular in a few days after he had offered himself, that he was called on to declare another Candidiate, when the Hon. Mr. Moncton [sic], a neighboring Gentleman of large Fortune, joined him. From that Time the Canvass was preceded by a Blue Flag, with the words, 'Keep your Borough Free.' This you know was Whitworth's famous Motto when he came in on the popular Interest; but now there appeared neither Bribery nor any under-hand Proceedings.

The Burgesses seemed transported with Fury at the new Bargain *Dick* had made to sell them to *Drummond.* We had Ballads in plenty, and everything that could keep up the Spirit of the popular Party; and Mr. Sheridan's Speech in the Hall had an excellent effect in keeping our Lads steady after Drummond began his Canvass, who was supposed to have brought an amazing long Purse with him. On Tuesday the Business ended triumphantly for the new Candidates, who on their being chaired were carried through the Town amidst the Acclamations of the greatest Crowd we ever remember in Stafford.' " State of the poll: Monckton 258, Sheridan 247, Whitworth 168, Drummond 46.

Inverness Borough, Scotland (2): Sir Hector Munro (3).
Ashburton, Devon (3): Robert Palk (4).
Yarmouth, Isle of Wight: Sir Thomas Rumbold (2). Returned April 14, 1781. He was declared not duly elected for Shaftesbury, which he had previously contested with Francis Sykes.
Evesham, Worcester: Charles William Boughton Rouse.
Patron: Sir John Rushout, partially. About 800 voters.—Oldfield, II, 263. *Public Advertiser,* Sept. 29, 1780: "The Poll for Candidates at Evesham in Worcestershire lasted eight Days. On the sixth, Sir John Rushout, very unexpectedly joined his Interest with Mr. Rudge, which greatly alarmed Mr. Rous's Party, who were loud and violent in their Exclamations against Sir John. But the latter made so able a vindication of his Conduct from the Hustings, as drew repeated bursts of applause from a most crouded [sic] Common Hall. After the above Junction, Expresses were dispatched to various Parts of the Kingdom for Votes. The Messengers went even to the Friends of the reputed Dead, to be satisfied of their Existence or to cause a Resurrection".
Wendover, Bucks: Richard Smith.
Bishop's Castle, Salop (3): George Stratton (2).
Shaftesbury, Dorset (2): Francis Sykes (2).
Hindon, Wilts: Nathaniel William Wraxall.
Total: 13.
John Macpherson's return for Cricklade was declared void.

Acquired wealth in India, but not in the Company's service.

Wareham, Dorset (2): Thomas Farrer. Leader of the Bengal bar. Defender of Nuncomar. Returned home in 1778 with a fortune estimated at from sixty to eighty thousand pounds.—Hickey, II, 153; Busteed, *Echoes of Old Calcutta.*

Connections of Nabobs, closely allied with them.

Weymouth & Melcombe Regis, Dorset: William Richard Rumbold, son of Sir Thomas Rumbold. Borough patron: Gabriel Steward, Paymaster of Marines, 6000 pounds per annum.—Oldfield, I, 265; Robinson, 86.
Wendover, Bucks: John Mansell Smith, son of Gen. Richard Smith.
Camelford, Cornwall: James Macpherson, kinsman of John Macpherson, in whose behalf he was politically active.
Total: 3.

Directors of the Company.

Cumberland County: Sir Henry Fletcher.
Honiton, Devon: Jacob Wilkinson.
Hedon, York: Stephen Lushington, returned 1783.
Milborne Port, Somerset: John Townson.
Lostwithiel, Cornwall: George Johnstone, Captain, R. N.
Rochester, Kent: Robert Gregory, resigned as a Director, 1782.
Ilchester, Somerset: Samuel Smith, Jr.
Kinrosshire, Scotland: George Graham.
Total: 8. (Sir William James, who was also a Director, is listed under Nabobs.)

Shipping Interest: Captains or "Husbands" of Indiamen.

Southwark: Sir Richard Hotham.
Seaford, Cinque Ports: John Durand.
Gloucester City: John Webb.
Worcester City: Thomas Bates Rous.
Weymouth & Melcombe Regis, Dorset: John Purling.
Total: 5. (Sir Henry Fletcher, who had commanded the *Stormont* and the *Middlesex,* is listed under Directors.)
Recapitulation:

Company's Servants and Connections	16
Anglo-Indian Barrister	1
Directors	8
Shipping Interest	5
Total, All Classes	30

TABLE IVa

Division List on Sir John Rous's Motion for Withdrawing the Confidence of Parliament from His Majesty's Ministers, March 15, 1782. (*Parliamentary History,* vol. 22, cols. 1200-1211.) The Motion was lost, 236-227.

For the Motion: Richard and J. M. Smith, Sir Henry Fletcher, Robert Palke [sic], Thomas Farrer, Robert Gregory, Hon. E. Monckton, Sir Richard Hotham, C. W. B. Rouse, T. B. Rous, Jacob Wilkinson, John Webb.
Total: 12.
Opposed: George Johnstone, Richard Barwell, Sir William James,

James Macpherson, George Stratton, Sir Thomas & W. R. Rumbold, Sir Francis Sykes, Henry Strachey, N. W. Wraxall, Samuel Smith, Jr., John Townson.

Total: 12.

Nabob votes only: For 4, Opposed 7.

TABLE V

Division of the East India Interest between the Coalition and Pitt, prior to the General Election of 1784. It should be remembered that party lines were not drawn so hard and fast as nowadays, and that what is represented in many instances is rather a dominant trend than positive alignment. In the "State" and forecast of every seat which he drew up at this time, Robinson made four distinctions: "pro", (i. e. for Pitt), "hopeful", "doubtful", and "con".

Anglo-Indians and Connections.

For Pitt:

Barwell, Sykes, and Wraxall. See p. 59.

Sir Robert Palk. Robinson, p. 85.

Sir Hector Munro. "He may be doubtful in the present, but in future pro."—Robinson, p. 101.

Sir William James. Robinson classes him as "hopeful" with the comment "he should be made steady".—p. 83.

Paul Benfield. Robinson classes the members for Cricklade as 1 doubtful, 1 con, adding "Benfield is abroad".—p. 79. It is, however, difficult to believe that he was not misinformed. Benfield must surely have been hostile to any government in which Burke was a factor. James Macpherson wrote that Benfield and Hastings had the same enemies.—*Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms.* 29161, Nov. 6, 1783, Fol. 83.

(Assume two members unknown, returned by Benfield.—See p. 55.)

James Macpherson. Apparently very close to Robinson.—*Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms.* 29161, Scott to Hastings, Nov. 10, 1783, Fol. 1b & seq.; *Add. Ms.* 29152, Scott to Hastings, Jan. 12, 1782, Fol. 333. Scott says: "He is certainly a very keen, clever Man, but has a dreadful Opinion of Mankind." Robinson classes the members for Camelford as 1 pro, 1 hopeful.—p. 83.

Total, Anglo-Indian Class for Pitt: 10.

For the Coalition:

Hon. Edward Monckton. Robinson, p. 76; see also p. 61 and Table IV.

Richard and J. M. Smith. Robinson, p. 82.

Sir Thomas and W. R. Rumbold. Robinson, p. 74; see also pp. 55-56.

George Stratton. Robinson, p. 72.

Robert Gregory. *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser,* April 14, 1784; *Bath Chronicle,* March 25, 1784; Robinson, p. 73, classes the members for Rochester as 1 hopeful, 1 con.

Thomas Farrer. Busteed, *Echoes of Old Calcutta,* says: "He was a close ally of Francis." Robinson, 1 pro, 1 con.—p. 86.

Henry Strachey. The only conflicting evidence is that of Robinson who classes both members for Bishop's Castle as "pro", but then forecasts the same members in the new Parliament to be 1 pro, 1 con. —p. 75. Strachey was at one time under suspicion of having fallen a victim to the wiles of "Jack the Ratcatcher"—as the Coalitionists called Robinson—but he cleared himself by resigning his office.—*Public Advertiser,* Dec. 29, 1783. He had been Storekeeper of the Ordnance under the Coalition. Bishop's Castle was one of Lord Clive's boroughs, and there is strong evidence that Clive was a supporter of Fox and North.—*Public Advertiser,* Dec. 30, 1783; *Bath Chronicle,* March 25, 1784; *Pub. Ad.,* May 29, 1784. Also see the disposition of Clive's other boroughs in Robinson, p. 75.

Total, Anglo-Indian Class for the Coalition: 9.

Primarily nonpartisan: 1. C. W. B. Rouse. Had "not appeared to take any decided line".—Robinson, p. 79. Rouse was one of those who attended the meetings at the St. Alban's Tavern to "effect an Union of Parties".—*Bristol Journal,* Feb. 7, 1784; *Annual Register.*

Directors and Shipping Interest.

For Pitt:

George Johnstone. Had been close to Macpherson.—*Warren Hastings Papers, Add Ms.* 29155, Scott to Hastings, Aug. 11, 1782, Fol. 381-383b. 1 pro, 1 con.—Robinson, p. 83.

Samuel Smith, Jr. 1 pro, 1 doubtful.—Robinson, p. 75. Also see below under T. B. Rous.

John Townson. 1 pro, 1 hopeful.—Robinson, p. 75.

Total, Directors and Shipping Interest for Pitt: 3.

For the Coalition:

Sir Henry Fletcher. Robinson, p. 66. A consistent Whig.

Stephen Lushington. Robinson, p. 73. *Bath Chronicle,* March 25, 1784.

Jacob Wilkinson. Robinson, p. 72; *Bath Chronicle,* March 25, 1784.

The entire Shipping Interest:

Sir Richard Hotham. See p. 63; *Public Advertiser,* May 29, 1784.

John Durand. Robinson, p. 80.

John Webb. *Public Advertiser,* May 29, 1784; Robinson, p. 73.

T. B. Rous. *Public Advertiser,* May 29, 1784; *Bath Chronicle,* March 25, 1784; although Robinson wrote "Mr. Rous seems with"—p. 79, Rose wrote him during the election; "Sam. Smith has dropped the City and is gone to Worcester against Rous."—p. 121. The *Morning Post* of April 14, 1784, also speaks of Rous, along with Gregory, Lushington, and General Smith, as one of the "favourers and supporters of Mr. Fox's scheme".

John Purling. *Public Advertiser,* May 29, 1784; *Bath Chronicle,* March 25, 1784.

Total, Directors and Shipping Interest for the Coalition: 8.

Indeterminate 1. George Graham. Robinson says doubtful, and his forecast is ambiguous, as Kinross alternated with Clackmanan. —p. 102. The Scotch members generally supported the existing government; only seven *are* pro, but forty are forecast to be pro in the new Parliament—p. 105.

Recapitulation.

	Pitt.	*Coalition.*
Anglo-Indian Class	10	9
Directors and Shipping Interest	3	8
Total:	13	17

Nonpartisan or indeterminate: 2.

TABLE VI

Parliament summoned May 18, 1784

Nabobs.

St. Ives, Cornwall: Richard Barwell (2).

"Under the arrangement of Mr. Praed."—Robinson, p. 84.

Callington, Cornwall (3): John Call. Returned as a supporter of Pitt.—Robinson, p. 115.

Midhurst, Sussex: Edward Cotsford.

Lord Montague's borough, who "with civility and attention may be got to return two friends".—Robinson, p. 92. There was not a house in the borough, the right of franchise being "in one hundred and twenty burgageholds, the situation of which is distinctly marked at present by the position of a large stone upon each of them".—Oldfield, II, 148. Cotsford had unsuccessfully contested Hindon at the by-election resulting from the appointment of Kenyon as Attorney General in January, 1784.

Hedon, York (2): Lionel Darell. Returned as a supporter of Pitt.—See p. 59. "In this borough every burgess, with the exception of a few indeed, thinks it incumbent on him to lay the candidates under as severe a contribution as possible. Ribband-bills will amount to 100£. The candidates agents will lend the burgesses money, which is never returned.—Voters have been known to ask 100£ and 80£ has been bid for a single vote. The nominal price of a vote is 20£; that is, 20£ is expected by each voter, in case there is no opposition".—Oldfield, II, 277. There were in 1775 about 175 voters, including about 30 Revenue Officers, "now disfranchised". "Patron, The highest bidder".—Ibid.

Stafford Borough (2): Hon. Edward Monckton (2). He and Sheridan were returned without opposition.—*General Evening Post,* April 1-3, 1784.

Ashburton, Devon (4): Robert Palk (5). The opposition to him was so feeble that "out of more than 250 votes in the hall, only five could be dragged forth".—*General Evening Post,* April 20-22, 1784.

Evesham, Worcester (2): Charles William Boughton Rouse (2).

Weymouth & Melcombe Regis, Dorset (2): Sir Thomas Rumbold (3).

West Looe, Cornwall (3): John Scott.

Bishop's Castle, Salop (4): Henry Strachey (4).

Wallingford, Berks (4). Sir Francis Sykes (3).

Berkshire County (3): George Vansittart. Returned as a supporter of Pitt.—*Morning Post,* March 18, 1784; *Public Advertiser,* March 19, 1784; *Warren Hastings Papers, Add Ms.* 29163, Fol. 183, Scott to Hastings, April 24, 1784. Returns: Vansittart 678, Pye 677, Hartley 301.—*General Evening Post,* April 8-10, 1784. The defeated candidate declined to poll to the end.—*Bath Chronicle,*

April 15, 1784. The election, which was terminated in a few hours, was said to have cost "the different parties rather more than 2200£, and if the contest had been prolonged the cost was computed at the rate of 100£ an hour".—*Bath Chronicle,* May 6, 1784.

Boston, Lincs: Dalhousie Watherston. Apparently returned as an independent. The *Morning Post* of April 6, 1784, contains his advertisement of thanks to the electors, in which he declares that he "disclaims the illiberal prejudices of party, and every partial attachment to any particular set of men".

Ludgershall, Wilts: Nathaniel William Wraxall (2).

Proprietor: George Selwyn.—Robinson, p. 93; Oldfield, II, 235.

Total Nabobs: 15.

Other Anglo-Indians.

Southampton Borough: James Amyatt. Had been a free merchant in India.—Scott in the *Public Advertiser,* Nov. 16, 1784.

Leominster, Hereford (3): John Hunter. Had been a free merchant in India.—Ibid.

Wareham, Dorset (3): Thomas Farrer (2).

Fowey, Cornwall: John Grant. "Officer in his Majesty's Service in India."—Scott, *Public Advertiser,* Nov. 16, 1784.

Total: 4.

Scott also includes Philip Francis among the Indian members. This seems extreme. Francis's connection with India was neither formative nor permanent, and he was not identified with either an Indian City or Service set. The name of Lord Macartney, appointed Governor of Madras, has been omitted from these tables for a similar reason.

Captains of Indiamen.

Cumberland County (2): Sir Henry Fletcher (2).

Weymouth & Melcombe Regis. Dorset (2): John Purling (2).

Gloucester City (2): John Webb (2).

Dover, Cinque Ports: Robert Preston. A supporter of Pitt.—*Public Advertiser,* May 29, 1784. The Admiralty had one seat for this borough; the other was independent.—Oldfield, II, 313.

Rochester, Kent (2): Nathaniel Smith. Supported Pitt.—*Public Advertiser,* May 29, 1784.

Directors of the Company.

New Romney, Cinque Ports: Richard Atkinson. He had first un-

successfully contested the City, after which John Smith, the Company's solicitor, and a Director, who had been elected for New Romney applied for Chiltern Hundreds.—*Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser,* May 6, 1784; *Bath Chronicle,* June 17, 1784, New Romney was Sir Edward Deering's borough, "and as things change, Sir Edward is not obstinate".—Robinson, p. 81.

Grampound, Cornwall: Francis Baring.
Barnstaple, Devon: William Devaynes.
Southwark: Paul Le Mesurier. See p. 63.
Worcester City (5): Samuel Smith, Jr. (2).
Total, Shipping Interest and Directors: 10.

Other Persons Actively Connected With the Indian Group.

Camelford, Cornwall (2): James Macpherson (2).
Sir Samuel Hannay, Bart. See p. 60.

"*Mr. Rum Atkinson's* friend *Sir Samuel Hannay, Bart.* (as he has lately styled himself) having failed in his petition for a seat at *Ilchester,* is chosen for Camelford. . . . This *Gentleman's* election adds one more member to the *Bengal Squad* in the H— of C—s."—*Morning Herald & Daily Advertiser,* July 26, 1784. Hannay was subsequently elected a Director.

Recapitulation, General Election of 1784.

Nabobs	15
Other Anglo-Indians	4
Shipping Interest and Directors	10
Allies	2
Total East India Interest	31

APPENDIX II

A PARTIAL ANALYSIS OF THE HOLDERS OF EAST INDIA STOCK IN 1773

The complete lists of stockholders are at the Bank of England, and the writer could not obtain access to them. The Guildhall Library contains two printed lists for the year 1773. The names given below are taken from: *A List Of The Names Of All The Proprietors of East India Stock; Distinguishing The Principal Stock Each Proprietor Now Holds, and the Time When Such Proprietor Became Possessed Thereof. Printed in the Year MDCCLXXIII.* At the end is the subscription: "East India House, 9th March, 1773, Jas. Donaldson, Accountant for Stock and Annuities."

The groupings and subgroupings, and the descriptive matter after the names are not in the original. The date of first possession of the stock is given before each name.

The "Indian" Group. Servants and former servants of the Company and their connections.

Sept. 1771. Stanlake Batson, H. E. I. C. S. £7800.
June 1770. James Batson. £500.
Dec. 1772. Edward Buckley Batson, "G. S." £500.
Oct. 1772. William Barwell, H. E. I. C. S. £1100.
Oct. 1772. Richard Barwell, H. E. I. C. S., son of the above. £500.
Oct. 1772. James Barwell, Captain of the Company's ship "Ankerwyke", (*Pub. Ad.* Dec. 30, 1774.) £500.
June 1772. Mary Barwell, "spinster". £500.
March 1773. Richard Becher, H. E. I. C. S. £2000.
Oct. 1771. John Becher. £500. Probably the brother of the above.
May 1767. John Cator. Father of William Cator, H. E. I. C. S. £500.
July 1771. Brig.-Gen. John Carnac, H. E. I. C. S. £500.
July 1767. Scipio Carnac. £500.
Feb. 1770. Gen. John Caillaud, H. E. I. C. S. £6500.

Sept.	1769.	Col. John Call, H. E. I. C. S. £500.
May	1771.	Wm. Hy. Chauncy, Saml. Wordsworth, Robt. Gosling, & Geo. Clive. £10,000. (Gosling, Clive, & Gosling, Bankers, 19 Fleet St.—*Court and City Register.*)
April	1770.	George Clive. £500.
Jan.	1763.	Henry Clive. £500.
July	1767.	Rev. Robert Clive. £500.
Jan.	1773.	Robert, Lord Clive. £1000.
Oct.	1772.	William Clive. £500.
June	1767.	Edmund Maskelyne. £500. Clive's brother-in-law.
June	1770.	John Walsh, H. E. I C. S. £1000.
Jan.	1773.	Henry Strachey. £2000. Had been Clive's secretary.
July	1772.	Col. Charles Chapman. £2000. Probably a connection of Charles Chapman, H. E. I. C. S.: See p. 65, footnote.
March	1769.	Mary Cotsford, "widow". £1000. Mother of Edward Cotsford, H. E. I. C. S.—I. O., Writers Petitions, 1757, vol. 2, No. 21.
Oct.	1771.	Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. £500.
Nov.	1764.	Josias Du Pre, H. E. I. C. S. £500.
Oct.	1773.	Henry Fletcher. £2500. Captain of the Company's ships, Director, and M. P. for Cumberland.—D. N. B.
Feb.	1773.	Charles Goring. Either himself H. E. I. C. S. or a connection. £1000.
Aug.	1769.	Parker Hatley, H. E. I. C. S. £500.
Oct.	1764.	John Hogarth. £500. Father of John Hogarth, H. E. I. C. S. . I. O., Writ. Pet., 1765, vol. 6, No. 33.
Feb.	1767.	Sir Richard Hotham. £500. "Husband" of India ships. Afterwards M. P.
March	1773.	William James. £2000. Had been commander of the Company's navy. Director, and afterwards M. P.
July	1772.	Thomas Kelsall, H. E. I. C. S. £500.
Oct.	1772.	John Kelsall. £500.
Oct.	1771.	Richard Kelsall. £700.
March	1775.	"John Kirkman, Esq.; Alderman". £2000. Probably a close connection of Thomas Kirkman, H. E. I. C. S.
May	1756.	Stephen Law. £500. (A connection of Evan Law, H. E. I. C. S.?)

April 1744. Stephen Law with Francis Dickinson. £1000.
Feb. 1763. Rev. John Law. £500. (Evan Law connection?).
March 1773. Ralph Leycester, Jr., H. E. I. C. S. . £2000.
Oct. 1768. Rev. Dr. Henry Lushington. £500. Father-in-law or grandfather of the above Leycester.—Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Father of Henry Lushington, killed at Patna, and of William Lushington, H. E. I. C. S.
March 1773. Stephen Lushington. £2000. 2nd son of the above Afterwards Director of the Company.—G. E. C., Complete Baronetage vol. 5, p. 267.
June 1767. Dr. William Markham, Bishop of Chester and Charles Lawrence. £446. Afterwards Archbishop of York, Father of William Markham, H. E. I. C. S.
June 1767. George Markham. £2000.
March 1773. Lauchlan Macleane. £500. See Table II.
Oct. 1769. Charles Manningham. £500. See p. 10; the same?
May 1771. William McGwire. £500. See p. 10; the same? Not in the records.
June 1769. Robert Palk. £2000.
George, Lord Pigot. £5500.
April 1767. Frederick Pigou. £2500.
June 1769. Col. Robert Pigot. £2500.
March 1764. Captain Hugh Pigot. £100.
Sept. 1770. Frederick Pigou. £2500.
Sept. 1768. Frederick Pigou, Jr., H. E. I. C. S. £500.
Oct. 1772. John Pybus. £500.
July 1770. John Purling. £2000. Himself or his nephew, H. E. I. C. S.
Aug. 1772. Charles Pye. (A possible connection of William Pye, H. E. I. C. S., 1765-1791, who was the son of Captain William Pye, killed while serving under Clive.—Bengal Civilians; Writ. Pet., 1764, vol. 5, No. 28.)
May 1770. Richard Ray and Wm. Rawlinson. £2500.
Jan. 1773. William Ray. £500. (Grand tells a story of a Ray, appointed a Bengal Writer who died on his first voyage out in 1766. This Ray was, he says, an illegitimate son of Lord Sandwich. He believed that in return for his appointment Sandwich had given Robert Jones, the Director, a seat for Huntington. Ray's Writers

Petition says that he was the son of Richard and Mary Ray.—Vol. 6, 1765, No. 52.)

Oct. 1772. Thomas Rumbold. £2500.

June 1776. John Shaksepear, "Alderman". £500. Father of John Shakespear, H. E. I. C. S.

Aug. 1776. Ascanius William Senior. H. E. I. C. S. £500.

Oct. 1768. John Sykes, father of Francis Sykes. £500.

Dec. 1772. Francis Sykes. £1500.

June 1772. Gen. Richard Smith. £500.

March 1773. William Brightwell Sumner, H. E. I. C. S. £2000.

June 1769. Henry Vansittart, "deceased". £500.

Jan. 1769. Henry Vansittart, "deceased" & Roger Boehm. £750.

Feb. 1764. Arthur Vansittart. £500.

Feb. 1764. Robert Vansittart. £50.

Oct. 1769. Hugh Watts, H. E. I. C. S. £500.

Members of Parliament and their connections

All in the Parliament of 1768-1774; the name of the constituency follows that of the individual

Dec. 1772. John Aubrey, Wallingford. £500.

Nov. 1772. Peregrine Bertie, Westbury, Wilts. £500.

Feb. 1773. Matthew Brickdale, Bristol. £2000.

May 1765. Sir Kendrick Clayton, Bart., Bletchingly, Surrey (he died 1769), with William Mitford & Henry Revely. £1000.

March 1763. Lord John Cavendish, York City. £500.

March 1757. Lord Charles Cavendish. £1000.

March 1763. Dowager Duchess of Devonshire. £500.

Nov. 1769. Hon. Charles Sloane Cadogan, Cambridge Borough. £500.

April 1771. Charles Henry Cadogan. £500.

March 1773. William Cadogan, M.D. £500.

Sept. 1770. John Clevland, Barnstaple, Devon. £500.

March 1773. Thomas Estcourt Creswell, Wootton Basset, Wilts. £3000.

July 1767. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Grampound, Cornwall. £2500.

June 1769. Sir William Codrington, Bart., Tewkesbury, Gloucester. £4500.

March 1768. Elizabeth Codrington, "spinster". £2500.

March 1773. George Dempster, Dundee etc., Forfar, Scotland. £2250. His brother, Charles Dempster, H. E. I. C. S., died at Calcutta, Nov. 19, 1772.—Records of Bengal Civilians, *Pub. Ad.*, July 6, 1773.

March 1764. Thomas Dundas, Orkney and Shetland or Stirling, Scotland. £500.

Aug. 1770. John Dunning, Calne, Wilts. £8000.

Feb. 1768. The above with Edmund Byron. £2000.

Feb. 1773. Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart., Edinburgh. £3000.

Oct. 1772. John Durand, Aylesbury, Bucks. £500.

Feb. 1772. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart., Roxburghshire, Scotland. £1000.

Dec. 1771. Captain Hugh Elliott. £1500.

Dec. 1771. Gilbert Elliot. £1500.

Aug. 1772. Archibald Edmonstone, Dumbartonshire, Scotland. £500. His son, Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, was afterwards in the Bengal service.—Warren Hastings Papers, add. Ms. 29157. Fol. 406.

Feb. 1773. Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, Bart., Portsmouth. £2600.

April 1770. Dame Sarah Fetherstonhaugh, wife of the above. £300.

July 1771. Alexander Garden, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. £1000.

Aug. 1769. Martin Bladen Hawke, Saltash, Cornwall, & Hon. Henry St. John, Wootton Basset, Wilts. £1500.

Sept. 1768. Rowland Holt, Suffolk County. £500.

May 1771. Benjamin Hopkins, Great Bedwin, Wilts. £500.

April 1771. William Hussey, Hindon, Wilts. £2000.

March 1773. George Johnstone. £2000.

April 1758. Daniel Lascelles, Northallerton, York. £500.

March 1770. Peter Lascelles. £2000. Connection of the above (?).

Jan. 1773. Sir Robert Ladbroke, City of London. £2000.

Sept. 1772. Robert Ladbroke, Jr. £500.

Feb. 1770. Benjamin Lethieullier, Andover, Hants. £2800.

May 1752. Benjamin Lethieullier, deceased, & William Palmer, deceased. £384.

May 1767. Herbert Mackworth, Cardiff, Glamorgan, Wales. £500.

Sept. 1768. Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart., Southwark. £500.

Sept. 1768. John Mawbey. £500.
Oct. 1768. Gerard William Van Neck, Dunwich, Suffolk. £500.
March 1752. Sir Joshua Van Neck, Bart. £2000.
Jan. 1773. Joshua Van Neck, Jr. £1000.
Feb. 1764. Robert Henry Ongley, Bedford County. £500.
Sept. 1769. Richard Oliver, City of London. £500.
Aug. 1768. Hon. Ann Poulett, Bridgwater, Somerset, Beeston Long, & James Henckell. £500.
July 1772. William Plumer, Hertford County. £3500.
April 1771. Richard Rigby, Tavistock, Devon. £500.
March 1773. Thomas Bates Rous, Worcester City. £2000.
June 1769. Hans Stanley, Southampton Borough. £3000.
Oct. 1769. Sir Charles Saunders, K. B., Hedon, York. £500.
May 1767. Hon. Keith Stewart, Wigtounshire, Scotland. £500.
June 1770. Humphrey Sturt, Dorsetshire, Thomas Collett, & James Cleater, £2000.
May 1770. Hon. Wilbraham Tollemache, Northampton Borough. £1000.
Oct. 1767. Hon. Richard Vernon, Bedford Borough. £1000.
Oct. 1772. Hon. Richard Walpole, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk. £3500.
Nov. 1772. The same with Frederick Pigou and John Durand, M. P. £1000. (See preceding page.) For Pigou see under "Indian" group.
May 1771. Hon. Thomas Walpole, King's Lynn, Norfolk. £500.
March 1763. Marquis of Rockingham. £500.
Dec. 1772. Lt.-Col. Glynn Wynn, Carnarvon Borough, Wales, £500.

Total M. P.'s, exclusive of those in the "Indian" list: 46.

Aug. 1769. "David Garrick, Esq." £500.
Sept. 1772. Henry Sampson Woodfall, publisher of the *Public Advertiser*. £500.

APPENDIX III

SEATS OF SOME NABOB GENTRY

Bedfordshire.

Caldwell Priory, ca. ¼ mile W. of Bedford, on the Ouse: George Livius. Purchased from the heirs of Anne Garnault, whose family had acquired Caldwell in 1707.—*Victoria History of Bedford,* III, 21; Lyson's *Magna Britannia, Bedfordshire,* pp. 47-48; Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1850, III, supplement.

Berkshire.

Winkfield or Wingfield Place, in Winkfield Parish, 5½ miles from Windsor: Stanlake Batson, Sheriff.—List of Sheriffs in Berry's *Berks Pedigrees; Pub. Ad.,* Feb. 19, 1772; Lyson's *Mag. Brit., Berks,* 437; Pinnock's *County Histories, Berks,* 49.

Maiden Earley or Erlegh, Sunning Parish, ca. 3 miles SE. of Reading: Edward Golding, Sheriff, 1789. The manor had "undergone frequent alienations" in the years preceding Golding's purchase of it from William Matthew Birt, Governor of the Leeward Islands. —Lysons, op. cit., 380. The estate remained in the possession of the Golding family until 1878.—*Victoria History of Berks,* III, 217.

Chilton or Chiltern Lodge, near Hungerford: John Zephaniah Holwell.—Lysons, op. cit., 261; Kelly's *Directory of Berks,* 1920, p. 96. Some time after Holwell: General Richard Smith, Sheriff, 1779. London residence, 1773: Harley St.—As given in a list of India Stock Proprietors of that year, at the British Museum.

White Knights, ca. 2 miles SE. of Reading: William Byam Martin. Berry, op. cit., lists William Byam Martin "of White Knights" as Sheriff in 1785. The *Victoria History of Berks,* III, 215, says that "Sir Henry Charles Englefield, . . . in 1798, . . . conveyed the estate to William Byam Martin, who released it to George, fifth Duke of Marlborough." Compare also p. 22 of, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansion and Gardens of White-Knights, A Seat of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough.* By Mrs. Hofland. Illustrated . . . by T. C. Hofland. London 1819. A solution of the apparent conflict of dates would be that Martin resided at White Knights for

some years before acquiring possession in 1798, after which he almost immediately resold the property. The Englefields had held the manor for nearly 200 years.—Hofland, op. cit., p. 22. "From a broad green terrace . . . is a fine view of Reading. Caversham House, and woods . . . bound the prospect in front."—*The Beauties of England and Wales,* by E. W. Brayley and John Britton. 1801. Vol. I, p. 107.

Basildon: Sir Francis Sykes. See p. 72. London residence, 1773: Upper Brook St.

Bisham Abbey, ca. 4 miles NW. of Maidenhead: George Vansittart. Purchased in 1780 from the widow of Sir John Hoby Mill Bart. The Hobys had had it since the reign of Edward VI.—Powell's *Topographical Collections, Berkshire, Add. Ms.* 17457, p. 69; Lysons, op. cit., 243. In the same year Vansittart also bought the manor of Stoke, near "Gildford", Surrey, but immediately sold it again.—Manning and Bray's Surrey, I, 168.

Great and Little Fawley, Foxley, etc.: Henry Vansittart. "Fawley, the seat of the Moores, whose ancester was created a baronet in 1627, was sold by Sir John Moore, in 1765, to the Vansittarts."—Lysons, op. cit., 183. "The Manor of Foxley was purchased by Henry Vansittart in 1765 of William Mackworth Praed."—*The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Bray. In the County of Berks.* By Charles Kerry. 1861. Vansittart also had a house at Greenwich.—D. N. B.

Warfield Park, Bracknell, ca. 5 miles NE. of Wokingham: John Walsh. Acquired in 1771. He had previously purchased Hockenhull, Cheshire, but sold it.—D. N. B. London residence: Chesterfield St.—D. N. B.; *Pub. Ad.,* Nov. 9, 1774; India Stock Proprietors, 1773; op. cit.

Lovelhill, Lovell's Hill, or Lovel Farm, 4 miles SW. of Windsor: Hugh Watts, Sheriff, 1776.—Berry, op. cit., List of Sheriffs; *Pub. Ad.,* Nov. 15, 1773; India Stock Proprietors, 1773; op. cit.; Bartholomew's *Gazetteer of the British Isles, ed.* 1893.

South Hill, ca. 3½ miles SW. of Ascot: William Watts. Compare: Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921, under Watts of Hanslope Park; Burke's *History of the Commoners,* I, 23, under Ricketts; *Pub. Ad.,* Dec. 17, 1772; Bartholomew, op. cit.

Buckinghamshire.

Wilton Park, near Beaconsfield: Josias Du Pre. Purchased the estate about 1770.—*The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham,* by George Lipscomb, M. D., 4 volumes, 1847. III, 192. Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921. London residence, 1773: John St. Bedford Row.

Cheshire.

Toft Hall, near Knutsford: Ralph Leycester. (See also Surrey.) The estate had been in the family since the Fifteenth Century; Ralph Leycester succeeded to it on the death of his unmarried elder brother in 1809.—Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921; Neale's *Views of Seats,* 2nd Series, vol. V.

Ince, Ince Parish, ca. 6 miles W. of Frodsham: Major John Scott-Waring. Inherited the estate in 1798, on the death of his cousin, Richard Hill Waring, whose name and arms he assumed. About 1800 Scott sold Ince, comprising some 1600 acres, to Robert Peel and Edmund Yates for £80,000.—D. N. B.; Ormerod's Cheshire, II, 12-13. In 1801 or 1802 he bought Peterborough House, Fulham.

Cornwall.

Whiteford House, Stoke Climsland, 2½ miles N. of Callington: Sir John Call, Sheriff, 1771-1772. He purchased Whiteford from "Mrs. Prowse; it had been before in the family of Addis". London residence: Old Burlington St.—Gilbert's *Parochial History of Cornwall,* IV, 10, D. N. B.; G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage.*

Devonshire.

Clyst St. Mary, Clyst St. Mary Parish, ca. 4 miles SE. of Exeter: Edward Cotsford, Sheriff, 1792. The manor was purchased by him from "Mr. Jackson". "The mansion-house is a large brick building, standing on an elevated spot, in a lawn of about sixty acres."—Polwhele's *History of Devonshire,* II, 204; I, 311, for list of Sheriffs; *The Geographical Description or Survey of The County of Devon.* By Tristram Risdon. London 1811, p. 370, also list at back.

Haldon House, Haldon, 4½ miles SW. of Exeter: Sir Robert Palk. See p. 71. London residence, 1773. Spring Gardens.

Hampshire.

Burley Mills and Burley Batten, ca. 5 miles SE. of Ringwood, near

Fareham: General John Carnac. He acquired the manors in 1776; they had already passed through two changes of ownership since 1723.—*Victoria History of Hampshire,* IV, 611. "General Carnac's noble Place at Fareham is at last sold—but at such a vile Price as brings his Noble to Ninepence—no more than 18,000£. About 3000£ more must be laid out upon the Ground—and then it may be in a profitable State of Agriculture, at a Rental of 1000£ per Annum."—*Pub. Ad.,* Nov. 5, 1783. "The Polygon" (in Southampton), "planned about 1770, owes it origin to General Carnac."—*A General History of Hampshire,* by B. B. Woodward, B.A., F.S.A., 3 volumes, II, 339. London residence, 1773: Charles St., Berkeley Square.

Hook House, 7 miles SE. of Southampton: William Hornby. Returned from Bombay in 1784 and bought the land from the Duke of Portland. The mansion which he erected, a reproduction of Government House, Bombay, was burned down a few years prior to 1908.—*Victoria History of Hampshire,* III, 222, 225.

West Park, near Fording Bridge: Sir Eyre Coote. Purchased in 1762.—Victoria History, Hants., IV, 584; D. N. B.

Townhill, Mainsbridge Hundred: Nathaniel Middleton, Sheriff, 1800. In 1799 he sold Townhill to William Cator but apparently retained that part of the manor known as Shamblehurst.—Compare list of Sheriffs in Berry's Hants Genealogies with Victoria History, III, 484, 488. See also Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921.

Hertfordshire.

Greenhill Grove, Chipping Barnet Parish. John Pybus. See p. 76. London residence: *Pub. Ad.,* Dec. 22, 1774, has an advertisement of the sale of a house in "Saville" Row, occupied by "—— Pybus, Esq;".

Woodhall Park, Watton Woodhall: Sir Thomas Rumbold, then Paul Benfield, Rumbold purchased the manor in 1778 from John Palmer Boteler, whose family had had it since the reign of Edward III.—Clutterbuck's Hertford, II, 475. After Rumbold's death, Benfield bought the estate. Rumbold's London residence: Queen Anne St., Westminster.—G. E. C., Complete Baronetage; *Pub. Ad.,* March 1, 1773; India Stock Proprietors List. Benfield's London residence: 18 Grosvenor Square. (The house has since been renumbered.) —*The History of the Squares of London,* by E. Beresford Chancellor, p. 40.

Kent.

Updowne Place, near Ham: Matthew Collett.
Hasted's Kent, X, 41-42. Gent. Mag., 1777, p. 404.

Upper Garminton, etc., in the parishes of Littleborne, Bekesborne, etc.: Isaac Baugh. Purchased in 1787 from Sir Philip Hales, whose family had held part of the land since 1666.—Hasted's Kent, III, 654-655, 666. "The whole of Sir Philip Hales's estate sold to Mr. Baugh, in Bekesborne, Littleborne, Well, Ickham, and Adisham, being freehold consisted of 1389 acres," also 105 acres leased from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Total annual rent value: £1157.—Hasted, III, 716, footnote. The estate commanded a beautiful view of countryside and sea, with Ramsgate cliffs beyond. The soil was "very kindly" for hops.—Hasted, IX, 267.

Bedgebury Park, Goudhurst Parish: John Cartier, Sheriff, 1789. See pp. 78-79.

Park Place Farm, Eltham: Sir William James. Purchased about 1775 from Thomas Lucas, who had had it only a short time.—Hasted's Kent, I, 477. London residence: Gerrard St., Soho.

Valons, Westerham, ca. 5 miles W. of Sevenoaks: William M'Guire, (or Mac Guire). Purchased about 1766 from Captain Peter Dennis, R. N., who had had it since 1753. After possessing Valons a few years, M'Guire sold it to the Earl of Hillsborough, who changed its name to Hill Park.—Hasted's Kent, III, 171.

Oxfordshire.

Aston Park, Aston Rowant Parish: General John Caillaud, Sheriff, 1793.—Lords Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Oxfordshire, compiled by J. M. Davenport; G. A. Cooke's *Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Oxford,* p. 8. London residence 1773: George St., Hanover Sq.

Caversham Park, Berks. border, ca. 1 mile N. of Reading: Major Charles Marsac or Marsack, Sheriff, 1787. See p. 72.

Tew Park, Great Tew: George Stratton, Sheriff, 1799.—Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921.

Shropshire.

Downton Hall, near Downton, 3 miles NE. of Ludlow: Sir C. W. B. Rouse. Inherited the estate through his wife.—G. E. C.,

Complete Baronetage. Downton Hall "is a handsome house of Queen Anne date".—*Shropshire,* by A. J. C. Hare, 1898, p. 53. London residence, 1784: Lower Grosvenor St.—*Pub. Ad.,* June 17, 1784. See also under Worcestershire.

Somersetshire.

Sutton Court, 8 miles S. of Bristol: Sir Henry Strachey. The estate had been in the family since the Seventeenth Century.—Betham's Baronetage, V, 431. London residence, 1773: Park St., Grosvenor Square. See also under Surrey.

Staffordshire.

Somerford Hall, 1 mile E. of Brewood: Hon. Edward Monckton. —Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921.

Patshull, ca. 8 miles N. of Wolverhampton: George, Lord Pigot. London residence: Soho Square.

Surrey.

Bushbridge or Busbridge, 1½ miles S. of Godalming: Sir Robert Barker. Purchased in 1775 of the widow of Philip Carteret Webb, M. P.; Webb had bought the estate in 1748.—Manning and Bray's Surrey, I, 621. The house, originally built in the time of the Commonwealth, was enlarged by Barker.—E. W. Brayley's *History of Surrey, Revised by E. Walford,* IV, 289.

Rooksnest, Tandridge: Richard Becher. London residence, 1773: Portman Square. Henry Strachey inherited the estate in 1788.

Ancaster House, Richmond: Sir Lionel Darell. "Sir Lionel Darell, after his purchase from the Duke of Ancaster, was desirous of improving the property, and amongst other things to build greenhouses; but he was cramped for room, the Park wall coming too close. He made the usual applications . . . but . . . there were doubts and demurs to such an extent as to cause the worthy baronet to despair. One day, however, the King was riding into the Park and stopped, as he often did, to speak to Sir Lionel, who with due deference stated his wishes and the difficulties thrown in his way. The King . . . getting off his horse said, 'How much do you want, Sir Lionel?' Sir Lionel pointed out what he required, which was but a small space, and the King remarked: 'Very little indeed. Sir Lionel; are you sure it will be enough? Don't stint yourself.'

After a little more conversation the King took a stick and marked out the line himself, and said: 'There, Sir Lionel, that is your ground, it is mine no longer.' The King then . . . rode off, and the proper documents were soon prepared . . ."—Quoted from Richmond Notes in Edwin Beresford Chancellor's *Historical Richmond,* pp. 192-194. Darell's London residence: Grosvenor Square. —Chancellor's *History of the Squares of London,* p. 36.

Hall Grove, 1 mile NE. of Bagshot: Ralph Leycester.—Address of Ralph Leycester "jr." as given in the India Stock Proprietors List of 1773. His father, Ralph Leycester, died 1777.—Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921.

Pierpont Lodge, 3 miles S. of Farnham: Ascanius William Senior. The Duke of Kingston had purchased the estate in 1760, and made it into a "ferme ornee". Senior bought it from the Duke in 1771, and sold it in 1778.—Manning and Bray's Surrey, III, 167. "Early yesterday Morning the Lady of Wm. Senior, Esq; was safely delivered of a Daughter, at his House in Stanhope-street, Mayfair."—*Pub. Ad.,* April 16, 1772.

Hatchlands, East Clandon, 4 miles NE. of Guildford: William Brightwell Sumner, Sheriff, 1777. Sumner purchased Hatchlands in 1770 from the widow of Admiral Boscawen; Boscawen had bought it in 1749.—E. W. Brayley's *Topographical History of Surrey,* II, 50; Manning and Bray, III, 49.

John Pybus, see p. 76, resided at Cheam.

Sussex.

Stanstead Park, ca. 7 miles NW. of Chichester: Richard Barwell. London residence, 1782-1796: 7 St. James's Square.—*The History of St. James's Square,* by A. I. Dasent, p. 229.

Muntham, Washington Parish, 5 miles NW. of Worthing: William Frankland, Sheriff, 1782.

Rowdell, Washington Parish: Charles Goring. An estate of 277 acres, purchased by Goring from the co-heirs of James Butler. It had previously belonged to the family of Byne. Goring built a new house. Among the inscriptions reported in the churchyard is the following:

"Carolus Goring,
Ab oriente redux incorruptus,
Divitiarum honorum que spretus,
Optimatibus improbisque invisus,
Populi salutis et potentiae vindex.
Obiit aetatis anno 78, die Januarii 3rd, 1821."
—Horsfield's Sussex, II, 233.

Horsted Place, near Little Horsted: Evan Law. A brick building "very large and elegant, standing on the brow of the hill, at a short distance from the church. The principal front commands an extensive prospect to the west. Many fine elm trees adorn the park". Law bought the estate from Richard Chase; it had undergone two previous alienations since 1723.—Horsfield's Sussex, I, 373-374.

Wiltshire.

Basset Down House, near Swindon: Edmund Maskelyne.—India Stock Proprietors List, 1773; *Pub. Ad.,* Nov. 9, 1773; Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921.

Worcestershire.

Rouse Lench, ca. 5½ miles SW. of Alcester: Sir Charles William Boughton-Rouse. Charles William Boughton succeeded to the estate in 1768 on the death of a distant cousin, Thomas Philips-Rouse, and took the name Boughton-Rouse.—G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage; Victoria History of Worcestershire,* III, 499.

Yorkshire.

Leases Hall, Bedale, N. Riding: Randolph Marriott.—Burke's *Landed Gentry,* 1921; *Pub. Ad.,* Oct. 30, 1783. Burke says that his brother, William Marriott, H.E.I.C.S., died at Pershore, Worcestershire. Earlier editions of Burke give a family of Marriott, seated at Avonbank, near Pershore, but who appear to trace their descent from *Randolph Marriott.*—Compare: Burke, op. cit., 1921 and 1852 editions; also *History of the Commoners,* IV.

Aston Hall, near Sheffield: Harry Verelst. Purchased the estate in 1771 from the last Earl of Holderness.—*The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the County of York,* Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1831. Vol. II, p. 165. London residence, 1770-1781; 9 St. James's Square.—Dasent's *History of St. James's Square,* p. 231.

SUPPLEMENT

A NABOBS' WHO'S WHO

BABER, Edward. Baptised June 20, 1746, at Warrington, Lancaster, son of Thomas Draper Baber, sometime of Sunning Hill Park, Berks. Bengal Writer, 1763. Factor, 1768. Junior Merchant and Resident at Midnapur, 1771. Senior Merchant and Chief at Moorshedabad, 1774. Returned to England by 1783. In that year he was active, along with Major Scott (q. v.), and Lawrence Sulivan, in collecting materials for the Company's defence against Fox's Bill. Formally thanked by the Special Committee of Proprietors appointed to watch over the rights of the Company.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 4, 1762, no. 21A. Neale's Views of Seats, vol. I, 2 leaves before p. 40. Records of Bengal Civilians. Public Advertiser, Dec. 24, 1783.

BARKER, Sir Robert. Born about 1732 at St. Anne's, Soho, son of Robert Barker, M.D., sometime of Hammersmith. William Devaynes, Director, E. I. Co., 1770-1805, was a relation. Commanded the artillery at Plassey as captain, and at Manilla, in 1762, as major. Colonel, 1764. Returned to England before the Rohilla War (1774), and resigned. Purchased Bushbridge, Godalming, Surrey, in 1775. Knighted 1763. Cr. Baronet 1781. F. R. S. (Made scientific observations while at Allahabad.) M. P. for Wallingford, Berks, 1774. Married, 1780, at Bolsover, Derby, Anne, only child of Brabazon Hallowes of that county. Died Sept. 14, 1789, at Bushbridge. Buried at Hammersmith. Baronetcy became extinct.

G. E. C., Complete Baronetage. Harleian Society, Familiae Minorum Gentium, vol. I, ms. 178, p. 405. D. N. B. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. I, p. 621. Brayley's Surrey, revised by Walford, vol. IV, p. 289.

BARWELL, Richard. Born 1741, at Calcutta, son of William Barwell H. E. I. C. S., of the Abbey House, Chertsey, Surrey, and Director of the Co., 1753-1776. Bengal Writer, 1756. Named a Member of the Council by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. Supported Hastings against the majority. Returned to England in 1780 with a large fortune. Bought Stanstead, Sussex, the former

seat of the Earl of Halifax. Expended much money on the house and land. London residence, 1782-1796; 7 St. James's Square. M. P. for Helston, Cornwall, 1781; for St. Ives, Cornwall, 1784; for Winchilsea, Cinque Ports (which Borough he purchased with Lord Darlington), 1790 and 1796. Died 1804. His wife, who was Miss Sanderson of Calcutta, died in 1778, and their son, Richard Barwell, Jr., in 1800.

D.N.B. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. III, p. 219. List of Directors in Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Dallaway's Sussex, pp. 159-160. Pub. Ad., Dec. 4, 1784. Dasent's History of St. James's Square, p. 229. Return of Members of Parliament, (Parl. Paper). Oldfield, Representative History of Great Britain, vol. V, p. 415 et seq. Gentleman's Magazine, 1800, pp. 491 and 585. Memoirs of William Hickey, vol II, p. 299 et seq; 306 et seq.

BARWELL, Roger. Brother of Richard. Born 1747 at Patna. Bengal Writer, 1764. Died June 16, 1772, at Winkfield Place, Berks, the seat of Stanlake Batson (q. v.). Another brother, Daniel Barwell, was drowned off the coast of Holland, while on his voyage home.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1763, no. 21. Records of Bengal Civilians. Pub. Ad., June 22, 1772. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. III, p. 237. For Daniel Barwell: Memoirs of William Hickey, vol. II, p. 140 et seq, 240 et seq.

BATSON, Stanlake. Born about 1730. A connection of Edward Buckley Batson, London banker contemporary with him. Arrived in Bengal, 1746. Junior Merchant, Member of Council at Cossimbuzar, 1756. Imprisoned by Siraj-uddaula. Senior Merchant, Assistant Military Storekeeper, 1757. Afterwards a Member of the Governor's Council, suspended by Clive. Had 7800 pounds worth of India Stock standing in his own name in 1773. Settled at Winkfield Place, Berks. Sheriff, 1772. Steward of Ascot Races, 1781. Died at Winkfield, Oct. 18, 1812. One Stanlake Batson of Horseheath Lodge, Cambridgeshire, and Mixbury, Oxfordshire, (Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 1824), and apparently afterwards also of Winkfield, married Isabella Ricketts, a granddaughter of William Watts (q. v.).

Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, vol. III, p. 412; vol. I, pp. lviii-lx; vol. III, p. 414. Victoria History of Hants, vol. V, p. 130. Burke's Peerage, 1925, under Westmoreland. India Office, Home Miscellaneous,

78. List of Sheriffs in Berry's Berks Pedigrees. Racing Calendar, May 30, 1781. Gentleman's Magazine, 1812, p. 591. Burke's Commoners, vol. I, p. 23. Berry's Hants Pedigrees, p. 165. Burke's Landed Gentry, 5th ed., 1871, under Batson. Pinnock's County Histories, Berks, 1819, p. 49.

BAUGH, Isaac. Bengal Writer, 1770. Secretary to Board of Inspection, Subsecretary to Revenue Board, and Assistant to Controller of Offices at the Presidency, 1774. Factor, same duties, 1776. Junior Merchant, same duties, 1779. No official record thereafter. Returned to England by 1784. By 1787 had begun to accumulate some 1400 acres, formerly belonging to Sir Philip Hales, in the parishes of Bekesborne, Littleborne, Well, Ickham, and Adisham, Kent. Built a house for his residence in Bekesborne. Estate's annual rent value: 1157 pounds.

Records of Bengal Civilians. Scott's "Thirty-seven" on p. 30. Hasted's Kent, vol. III, pp. 654-655, p. 716, footnote; vol. IX, p. 267.

BECHER, Richard. Born about 1721. Arrived in Bengal, 1743. Factor, 1745. Fourth in Council at Cossimbuzar, 1746. Afterwards Second at Cossimbuzar and Junior Merchant. Senior Merchant and Eleventh in Governor's Council, 1751. Chief at Dacca and Fourth in Governor's Council, 1756. Took refuge in the French Factory at Dacca, where he was kindly received. Import Warehouse Keeper, 1757. Received 27,000 pounds as his share of the booty on the overthrow of Siraj-uddaula; it was he who suggested that the Members of the Select Committee should be remembered. Out of the service in 1761. Apparently absent from India until 1767, when he arrived as Fifth in Council at Bengal. Second in Council and Chief of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, 1770. Labored to relieve the great famine of that year. Absent from India, 1771-1781. Purchased Rooksnest, Tandridge, Surrey, 1775. Rebuilt the house. London residence, 1773: Portman Square. Director, E. I. Co., 1775-1783. Interested in The Society for the Discharge and Relief of Persons Imprisoned for Small Debts. With his brother, became involved in serious financial difficulties about 1780. Their debts were said to amount to 120,000 pounds. Returned to India in 1781 as Superintendent of the Mint at Dacca. Died at Calcutta, Nov. 17, 1782. His first wife was Charlot Golightly. Their daughter, Charlotte, died at

Fulta during the troubles of 1756. By his second wife, Ann Haselby, he had another daughter, Charlotte, born 1767, who married Major Charles Marsac (q. v.)

Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, vol. III, p. 411. Records of Bengal Civilians. Hill, vol. I, pp. xciv-xcv. Hill, vol. I, p. ccix. Hunter's The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves, p. 165. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. II, pp. 380-381; Victoria History of Surrey, vol. IV, p. 322. Pub. Ad., May 21, 1773. List of Directors in Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Hunter, p. 166; Pub. Ad., Dec. 16, 21, 1780. Hill, III, p. 427; I, p. xciv. Notes and Queries, 11th Series, vol. XI, p. 115.

BENFIELD, Paul. Said to have been born about 1740 in or near Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, the son of a shopkeeper or surveyor. Arrived at Madras as Civil Architect and Engineer in 1764. Contracted to build the fortifications of Black Town, 1769. Dismissed the service for factious behavior, 1770. Readmitted. Suspended for disobedience, 1772. Contracted for the new works at Fort St. George; engaged on them until 1776. Also lent large sums to the Nawab of the Carnatic, secured on assignments of the revenues of Tanjore. Among the ringleaders in the illegal arrest of Lord Pigot (q. v.) when that nobleman, as Governor, restored Tanjore to its Rajah. Suspended by the Directors and recalled to England. Readmitted to the service. Member of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, 1781. Finally left India in 1788, with one of the greatest fortunes made there. Bought, in 1794, the estate of Watton Woodhall, Herts, from the trustees under the will of Sir Thomas Rumbold (q. v.). London residence: 18 (old no.) Grosvenor Square. M.P. for Cricklade, Wilts, 1780. Said, probably baselessly, to have brought in 7 to 9 other members. M.P. for Malmesbury, Wilts, 1790; for Shaftesbury, Dorset, 1793 and 1796. Partner in Boyd Benfield & Co., bankers, established 1793. At first very successful, the firm became greatly embarrassed toward the end of 1796. Forced to Liquidate in 1799. Benfield died in poverty in Paris in 1810. His wife had been Miss Swinburne of Hamsterly, Durham.

Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs, vol. I, p. 263. Cussans' Hertfordshire, vol. II, p. 171. Palk Mss, p. 109, footnote. D.N.B., see also under Boyd, Walter. Chancellor's History of the Squares of London, p. 40. Parliamentary Return. Case of Paul Benfield, Esq., (Pamphlet, N. Y. Public Library).

BENSLEY, Sir William. Born about 1735. Son of Thomas Bensley of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Winter of that county. Entered the Navy. Lieutenant, 1756. Resigned shortly after the Peace of 1763. Went to Bengal in the Company's service about 1764. Apparently returned to England by 1777. Residence: Berners Street, Mary-le-Bone. Director, E. I. Co., for many years until his death. (The references quoted below give the period of his Directorship differently). Cr. Baronet, 1801. Married, 1798, Mary, only daughter of Vincent Biscoe, by Lady Mary Seymour. Died Dec. 17, 1809. [The entries against the name of the only William Bensley in the Bengal Records end "Died 4 January 1776 at Calcutta."]

Betham's Baronetage, vol. V, p. 452. Gentleman's Magazine, 1809, p. 1182; 1810, p. 85. List of Directors in Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Scott's "Thirty-seven" on p. 30.

BURDETT, John. Baptised Aug. 15, 1738, in St. Mary's, Rotherhithe, son of John Burdett. Bengal Writer, 1755. Assistant in the Accomptant's Office, 1756. Put in the Black Hole. Survived; sent up country a prisoner with Holwell and two others. Back in the Accomptant's Office, 1757. Received 11,667 pounds on the accession of Nujum-uddaula, 1765. On his return to England apparently settled at Ealing, afterwards removing to Southampton, where he died, Nov. 8, 1812. Supposed to have been the last of the Black Hole survivors.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 2, 1754, no. 18. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757, vol. III, pp. 413, 415; vol. I, p. xci. Gentleman's Magazine, 1811, p. 289; 1812, p. 592.

CAILLAUD, General John. Of Huguenot extraction. Born about 1724. Served with the 8th Foot at Fontenoy and Culloden. Arrive in India with a British detachment, 1753. Brigadier-General, 1763. Retired and returned to England by 1773. Granted a pension of 500 pounds per annum by the Company. Settled at Aston Park, Rowant Aston, Oxfordshire. London residence, 1773: George St., Hanover Square. Hon. D.C.L., Oxon., 1773. Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 1793. Died Dec. 27, 1812.

Wylly's Life of Sir Eyre Coote, p. 64. Gentleman's Magazine, 1812, p. 673. D.N.B. Phillippart's East India Military Calendar, vol. II, p. 69. Cooke's Topographical and Statistical Description of

the County of Oxford, p. 10. Jackson's Oxford Journal, July 10, 1773.

CALL, Colonel Sir John. Of good, but somewhat impoverished family. Born June 30, 1732, at Fenny Park, near Tiverton, Devon, the son of John Call of Launcell's, Cornwall, by Jane Mill. Educated at Tiverton and at Somerton. Arrived in India about 1750 as Secretary to Benjamin Robins, Chief Engineer and Captain-General of Artillery to the Company. Robins died 1751; Call commissioned to erect defences at Fort St. David. Chief Engineer at Madras, 1752-1757. Chief Engineer under Coote (q. v.). Reduced Vellore under Caillaud (q. v.), 1762. With the army operating against Hyder Ali in Mysore, 1767-1768. His father died about 1766; returned to England when the news reached him. Had accumulated a considerable fortune; made loans to the Nawab at 25% per annum. Settled at Whiteford, Stoke Climsland, Cornwall. London residence (purchased 1785): Old Burlington Street. Sheriff of Cornwall, 1771-1772. Designed a new County Prison, 1779. M.P. for Callington, Cornwall, 1784, 1790, 1796. Cr. Baronet, 1791. F.R.S.and A.S. Founded, with John Pybus (q.v.), in 1785, the Bond Street banking firm of Pybus's Call Grant & Co. Also a copper smelter and a manufacturer of plate glass. Married 1772 at St. George's, Bloomsbury, Philadelphia, daughter of William Battie, M.D. Died at Old Burlington Street, March 1, 1801, having been blind the last seven years of his life.

Betham's Baronetage, vol. 4, p. 227. D.N.B. G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. Orme Mss., vol. 27, p. 118. Gilbert's Edition of Hals and Tonkin's Cornwall, vol. IV, pp. 10, 11, 33, 294-295, xciv. Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29166, fol. 254b.

CAMPBELL, Alexander. Seems to have been a literary critic before going to Bengal. Arrived 1763 as Junior Merchant and Assaymaster. Mint and Assaymaster and Secretary to the Select Committee, 1765. Senior Merchant, Eleventh in Governor's Council, same offices, 1767. Out of the service in 1768. Accused in a newspaper paragraph of having made a fortune by illicitly tampering with the coinage in his capacity as Mintmaster. Apparently settled at Worton, Middlesex. Died at Lewell House, near Chudleigh, Devon, Sept. 26, 1781.

Records of Bengal Civilians. Pub. Ad., July 18, 1772. Gent. Mag., 1781, p. 490.

CARNAC, General John. Born about 1717. Educated University of Dublin. Went to India as a Lieutenant in the 39th. Entered the Company's Army as a Captain, 1758. Major, 1760; succeeded Caillaud (q.v.) in command at Patna. Won a victory over the Emperor of Delhi's army and a French contingent under Law, 1761. Brig.-General, 1764. Received 32,666 pounds on the accession of Nujum-uddaula, 1765. Returned to England. Bought the manors of Burley Mills and Burley Batten, near Fareham, Hants. Laid out the Polygon in Southampton. M.P. for Leominster, 1768. Returned to India. Member of Council at Bombay, 1776. Dismissed the service for his share in the execution of the unsatisfactory Convention of Wargam with the Mahrattas. Remained in India. Amused himself by dabbling in scientific research. His Hampshire estate was sold about 1783. Died 1800 at Mangalore, where the ship on which he was voyaging for his health put in when his condition became worse.

Asiatic Annual Register, vol. III, p. 41, under "Characters". Wylly's Life of Sir Eyre Coote, p. 55. D.N.B. Victoria History of Hampshire, vol. IV, p. 611. Wilks's History of Hampshire, vol. II, p. 339. Pub. Ad., Nov. 5, 1783.

CARTIER, John. Born in St. James's Parish, Westminster, May 23, 1733, the son of John Cartier. Bengal Writer, 1749. Factor and Assistant at Dacca, 1755. Took refuge in the French Factory at Dacca, with Becher (q.v.) and the others, 1756. Volunteered with the army, appointed Ensign, 1757. Junior Merchant and Second in Council at Dacca, 1761. Chief at Dacca and Seventh in Governor's Council, 1762. Fourth in Council and Export Warehouse Keeper, 1767. Governor, 1770. Out of the service in 1772. Settled at Bedgebury, an estate of some 1500 acres in Kent, about 1774. Bought the estate 1784. Sheriff, 1789. Had a great reputation for plainness and virtue among his fellow Indians. Annual income estimated at 2000 pounds in 1790. Married 1774, as his second wife, the daughter of Stephen Law of Broxbourn, Herts, formerly Governor of Bombay and Director, who had endorsed his Writer's Petition. Died 1802.

Writers' Petitions, 1749, vol. 1, no. 8. Records of Bengal Civilians. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757, vol. I, pp. 70, 173. Hasted's

Kent, vol. III, pp. 36-39. Gent. Mag., 1802, p. 183; 1787, p. 1130. List of Sheriffs in Berry's Kent Genealogies. Price's Saddle Put On The Right Horse. M. E. Monckton Jones's Warren Hastings In Bengal, p. 114, note 2. Pub. Ad., Dec. 24, 1774.

COLLET or COLLETT, MATTHEW. Born about 1721. Presumably a member of the Collet family that had a number of Indian connections, among them a former Governor of Fort St. George. Arrived in Bengal, 1740. Member of the Governor's Council and Second at Cossimbuzar, 1756. Taken prisoner by Siraj-uddaula's army. Member of Governor's Council and Naval Storekeeper, 1757. Received 11,367 pounds on the overthrow of Siraj-uddaula. After his return to England, settled at Updowne Place, Ham, Kent. Expended much money in beautifying and adding to the estate. Died Aug. 27, 1777; buried in Ham Church. His widow sold Updowne Place the following year.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757, vol. III, pp. 411, 414; vol. I, p. lix. Hasted's Kent, vol. X, pp. 41, 42. Gent. Mag., 1777, p. 404.

COOTE, GENERAL SIR EYRE. Born 1726, son of the Rev. Chidley Coote of co. Limerick, by Jane Evans, sister of the first Lord Carbery. Went to India in 1754 with the 39th. Commander at Madras, 1759. Defeated the French at Wandewash, 1760. Returned to England, 1762. Purchased West Park, near Fordingbridge, Hants. M.P. for Leicester City, 1768; for Poole, Dorset, 1774. Went back to India; Commander-in-Chief, Bengal, 1779. Defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo. Died 1783 at Madras.

D.N.B. Victoria History of Hants, vol. IV, p. 584. Parliamentary Return. See also Wyllys's Life of Sir Eyre Coote.

COTSFORD, EDWARD. Born in Mary-le-bone, March 6, 1740, the son of William Cotsford. Went to Madras, 1756; Writer, 1757. Said to have served at the capture of Pondicherry, 1761, and of Manilla, 1762. Member of Madras Council and Chief of Masulipatam, 1776. Returned to England, 1780; out of the service, 1790. Supported by Richard Smith (q.v.) as a candidate for the Governorship of Madras, 1780. Succeeded to a substantial inheritance on the death of his mother in 1783. Purchased the manor of Clist St. Mary, in that parish, Devonshire. M.P. for Midhurst, Sussex, 1784. Sheriff of Devon, 1792. Died May 25, 1810, at Winslade House,

near Exeter. His widow married Sir Morris Ximenes of Bear Place, Berks.

Writers' Petitions, 1757, vol. 3, no. 21. Gent. Mag., 1810, p. 668. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Pub. Ad., Dec. 23 and 26, 1780; Nov. 20, 1783. Polwhele's Devon, II, 204.

COXE, Charles Hippisley. Born at Stone Easton, Somerset, May 21, 1752, son of John Hippisley and Mary (Northleigh) Coxe and brother of Richard Hippisley Coxe, M.P. for Somerset, 1768. Bengal Writer, 1769. Assistant under the Persian Translator, 1770. Out of the service in 1771. Apparently returned to Stone Easton. Captain, Somerset Militia. Died at Stone Easton, June 14, 1788.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 64, 1768, no. 2. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Records of Bengal Civilians. Gent. Mag., 1788, p. 565.

DALRYMPLE, Alexander. Born near Edinburgh, 1737, seventh son of Sir James Dalrymple Bart., Auditor of the Exchequer. Madras Writer, 1753. Became protege of Lord Pigot (q.v.). Cruised among the islands in the Straits of Malacca, 1759; made a commercial treaty with the Sultan of Sulu. Returned to England in 1765, the Madras Government having refused to cooperate further with him. Returned to Madras as Member of Council, 1775-1777; recalled under charges which he disproved. Appointed Hydrographer to the E. I. Co., 1779; to the Admiralty, 1795. Died 1808.

D.N.B.

DARELL, Sir Lionel. Born at Lisbon, Sept. 25, 1742, son of Lionel Darell of Holborn, by Honoria, daughter of Humphrey Hardwicke, merchant and Vice-consul at Lisbon. Arrived in Bengal, 1768, as Senior Merchant. Had married, 1766, Isabella, daughter of Timothy Tullie, Director, 1750-1763. Sub-accountant and Keeper of the Account Deposits, 1770. Also Sheriff, 1771. Went home about 1775. Ancaster House, Richmond, and Grosvenor Square. M.P., Lyme Regis, 1780; Hedon, York, 1784, 1790, 1796. Director, E. I. Co., 1780-1803. Colonel, 1st Loyal East India Volunteers, (composed of the Company's London employees). Cr. Baronet, 1795. Died Oct. 30, 1803, a few days after being fatally seized while presiding at a sale at the India House. His funeral procession, escorted by the East India Volunteers, attracted a crowd that lined the streets from Temple Bar to the India House. Succeeded by his son, Harry

Verelst Darell, born at Calcutta, 1768; married 1809, Amelia, daughter of William Becher.

Sir Lionel's younger brother, Major John Darell, H.E.I.C.S., was born at Lisbon in 1744 and died at Gravesend in 1789.

G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. Records of Bengal Civilians. (Entry as to death is wrong.) E. B. Chancellor's Historical Richmond, pp. 191-192, 192-194, and History of the Squares of London, p. 36. Parliamentary Return. Gent. Mag., 1803, p. 1090. Betham's Baronetage. Gent. Mag., 1809, p. 579. I.O., Francis Mss., no. 38, A. M.'s Diary, Feb. 12, 1776.

DOW, Col. Alexander. Born Crieff, Perthshire. Educated for commercial pursuits. Said to have worked his way to Bencoolen as a common sailor after having been involved in a fatal duel. Eventually recommended to the Company's officials at Calcutta. 2nd Lieut., Bengal Army, 1760; Lieut., 1763; Captain, 1764; Lieut.-Col., 1769. In England on furlough, 1768. Stood forth as the author of Tales from the Persian, and a History of Hindostan, which took a very unfavourable view of British dominion in India. Widely read. Also supposed to have written two Oriental plays produced at Drury Lane Theatre, Zingis in 1769, and Sethona in 1774. Some doubted the genuineness of his authorship. The History was, however, a factor in rousing prejudice against Anglo-Indians. Died July 31, 1779, at Boglepore.

D.N.B. Dodwell and Miles' Indian Army List. Baker's Biographia Dramatica, vol. I, p. 195. Price's Saddle Put On The Right Horse, p. 32. Pub. Ad., Aug. 12, 1772.

DRAKE, Roger. Born about 1722. Nephew of Roger Drake, Director, E. I. Co., 1738-1758. Arrived in Bengal, 1737. Governor of Fort William, 1752-1758. Unfitted to be a leader, but showed courage during the siege. Afterwards escaped to the ships. Received 31,500 pounds in 1757. Married, 1st, Mary, daughter of Thomas Coales or Coates, H.E.I.C S. 2nd,—to the scandal of Calcutta,—her sister Martha, and 3rd, after his retirement, Henrietta, daughter of the Rev. John Baker, D.D., by Henrietta Pye. Died Aug 4, 1766.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Burke's Commoners, I, 352, under Pye of Faringdon. Gent. Mag., 1766, p. 390.

DUCAREL or DUCARELL, GERARD GUSTAVUS. Born April 15, 1745, in the Parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, London, the son of Adrien Coltee Ducarel of Cloak Lane, College Hill, a Director of the South Sea Company. Andrew Coltee Ducarel, the celebrated antiquary, was his uncle. Bengal Writer, 1765. Deputy Paymaster to the 1st Brigade, 1766. Persian Translator to the Resident at the Durbar, 1768. Factor and Supervisor—afterwards Collector—of Purneah, 1770-1772. Junior Merchant, unemployed, 1773. Fourth Member, Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 1775. Senior Merchant and Superintendent of the Khalsa, 1776. Commissioner at Burdwan, 1782. Home by 1784. Out of the service in 1788. Had been a follower of Francis, on whose part he had the meeting with Major Scott (q.v.) which resulted in the compromise between Hastings and Francis, following the departure of Barwell (q.v.). Settled at Exmouth, Devon. Died in 1800, at Stilton, on his way to London. His daughter married John Finch Simpson, only son of John Simpson of Laund Abbey, Leicester.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1764, no. 20. London Trade Guide, 1744, pp. 115, 138. Records of Bengal Civilians. Scott's "Thirty-seven" on p. 30. Thornton's History of the British Empire in India, 2nd Edition, 1859, p. 138. Polwhele's Devonshire, II, 217. Gent. Mag., 1800, pp. 587, 1293.

DU PRE, JOSIAS. Born about 1721, son of Josias Du Pre, Secretary to the East India Company. Entered Madras Civil Service as Factor, 1752. Tenth in Council and Import Warehouse Keeper, 1761. Returned to England; married Rebecca, sister of James Alexander, H.E.I.C.S., afterwards Earl of Caledon. Went back to Madras as Second in Council, 1768. Governor, 1770. Resigned 1773. Settled at Wilton Park, Bucks. Died there, Sept. 30, 1780.

Palk Mss., p. 30, footnote 1. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Lipscomb's History of Buckingham, III, 192.

FARRER, THOMAS. Barrister; not, strictly speaking, a Nabob. Son of James and Marry Harrison Farrer of Clapham, Yorkshire. Leader of the Bengal Bar. Friendly with Francis. Defender of Nuncomar. Retired with a fortune estimated at 60,000 to 80,000 pounds, which might have been larger but for his losses to Barwell at the gaming table. Resided in Pall Mall after his return home.

M.P., Wareham, Dorset, 1780. Unmarried. Died March 12, 1797. Buried in St. Andrew's Holborn.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Busteed's Echoes From Old Calcutta, 4th edition, 1908. Memoirs of William Hickey, I, 273; 311 et seq.; II, 153. Parliamentary Return. Gent. Mag., 1797, p. 353.

FLEETWOOD, Charles. Son of Charles Fleetwood, who, after dissipating away a considerable patrimony became proprietor of Drury Lane Theatre in 1733, and died bankrupt in France after 1745. The younger Fleetwood acted successfully at Drury Lane in 1758 and 1759. Intimate with the Duke of York and an influential circle, he obtained powerful recommendations to Sir George Colebrooke, Chairman, E. I. Co., 1769-1770. Arrived in Bengal as a Factor, 1770. First Assistant at Burdwan, 1773. In Council at Burdwan, 1774. No official record thereafter. Reported living in London in 1779. Also in Scott's "Thirty-seven" (p. 30). Married Miss Simpson of Aberdeen, an actress, whose brother, Captain John Simpson, died at Madras. She died in 1807 as Mrs. White; her obituary says that Fleetwood died in Bengal.

Pub. Ad., July 26, 1784. Gent. Mag., 1779, p. 171, footnote. Records of Bengal Civilians. Gent. Mag., 1807, p. 184. For the elder Fleetwood, Mantzius's History of Theatrical Art, V, 365.

FLETCHER, Gen. Sir Robert. Lieutenant in the Madras Army. Dismissed for being insolent to government. Apologised; reinstated by Coote's influence. Accompanied the Manilla expedition, 1762. Major, Bengal Army, 1763. Brigadier, 1766. Lead the mutiny which broke out when Clive withdrew the double batta (field allowance) of the officers. Dismissed the service. Apparently at home in 1768. Waged a vigorous and successful campaign for reinstatement. M.P., Cricklade, Wilts, 1768. Returned to Madras as Colonel, 1771. Commander-in-Chief, 1772. Ordered transferred to Trichinopoly; pleaded privilege as M.P. and claimed right to return to England. Claim allowed. At home in 1774. Married Ann, daughter of John Pybus (q.v.). Again Commander-in-Chief, Madras, 1775. Implicated in Lord Pigot's arrest. Died on his way to Mauritius, 1776.

Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography. Parliamentary Return. Manning and Bray's Surrey, II, 477. Pub. Ad., March 30, 1768; Oct. 14, Nov. 29, Dec. 30, 1774.

FRANKLAND, William. Born about 1722, son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Fort William in 1725, and great grandson of Sir William Frankland Bart. of Thirsk, Yorkshire. Arrived in Bengal, 1740. Member of Council and Import Warehouse Keeper, 1756. Appointed Lieut.-Col. at the attack on Calcutta, but took an inglorious part; fled to a ship of which he was part owner. Buxey (Paymaster), 1757. Received 11,367 pounds on the overthrow of Sirajuddaula. Returned to England, and purchased, in 1765, Muntham, Washington Parish, Sussex. M.P., Thirsk, York, 1768; his brother, Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, was proprietor of the borough. Sheriff of Sussex, 1782. Spent his later years in seclusion and study; much interested in mechanical experiment, for which he had an elaborate equipment at Muntham. Died there, Dec. 28, 1805.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Horsfield's Sussex, II, 203; I, 86. Parliamentary Return. Gent. Mag., 1805, p. 1242. For Admiral Sir T. Frankland, D.N.B.

GOLDING, Edward. Baptised June, 1746, at Hampton, Middlesex, son of Edward Golding. Bengal Writer, 1764. Factor and Supervisor in Behar, 1770. Supervisor of Bettea, 1771. Junior Merchant and Collector of Bettea, Behar, 1772. Fourth in Council at Patna, 1774. Senior Merchant, same office, 1776. Second at Patna, 1777. Proceeded to Europe, 1779. Out of the service, 1780. Invested a considerable fortune in landed property in Berkshire; settled at Maiden Earley, Sunning Parish. D.L.; Sheriff, 1789. M.P., Camelford, Cornwall, 1799; Plympton Earl, Devon, 1802, appointed a Lord of the Treasury; Downton, Wilts, 1813. Died July 23, 1818, at Lord Sidmouth's London house, after a long illness. Maiden Earley remained in possession of the Golding family until 1878.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1763, no. 23. Records of Bengal Civilians. Victoria History of Berkshire, III, 217. Lysons' Mag. Brit., Berks, p. 380. List of Sheriffs in Berry's Berks Pedigrees. Parliamentary Return. Gent. Mag., 1818, p. 187; 1819, p. 88.

GORING, Charles. Born 1743, son of George Goring, of a good Sussex family, by Jane, daughter of Jonathan Smart, Collector General of the Landtax. Grandson of Sir Harry Goring, Baronet and M.P. Bengal Writer, 1763. Assistant at Cossimbuzar, 1764. No further official record until 1774. Then Senior Merchant. Chief,

Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1776. Out of the Service, 1777. Had been a follower of Francis. Settled at Rowdell, Washington Parish, Sussex; built a new house there. Died January 3, 1821.

Cartwright's Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber, vol. II, pt. II, pp. 132, 133, (part of Dallaway and Cartwright's Sussex). Records of Bengal Civilians. Price's Saddle Put On The Right Horse. Horsfield's Sussex, II, 233. Hasted's Kent, II, 523.

GRAY, Dr. George, Sr. Born about 1701. Arrived in Bengal as Surgeon, 1738. Escaped after the fall of Fort William in 1756. Again borne on the Bengal List of Covenanted Servants as Surgeon, 1757. Died at Huntington, N. B., March 26, 1781.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Gent. Mag., 1781, p. 194.

GRAY, George, Jr. Son of the above. Born at Cossimbuzar, Bengal, Aug. 23, 1737. Educated at the University of Edinburgh. Bengal Writer, 1755. Escaped after the fall of Fort William. Assistant in the Secretary's Office, 1757. Received 11,666 pounds on the accession of Nujum-uddaula in 1765.

Western's Petitions, vol. 2, 1754, no. 6. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757.

GRIFFITH, Richard. Born 1752, only son of Richard and Elizabeth Griffith, novelists of some repute. Bengal Writer, 1770. Assistant to the Council of Revenue, Patna, 1772. Factor, same duties, 1776. Accountant at Patna, 1778. No official record thereafter. At home by 1784. Settled at Millicent, Naas, Co. Kildare, Ireland. Sat in the Irish Parliament for Askeaton, 1783-1790. Presented with the freedom of the City of Dublin for his defence of that Corporation's rights and privileges in Parliament. Died 1820; buried at Millicent. Married, first, in 1780, Charity, daughter of John Bramston of Oundle, Northamptonshire. She died in 1789. In 1793 he married Mary, daughter of Walter Hussey Burgh; she died 1820. By his first wife he was the father of Sir Richard John Griffith, Bart., noted civil engineer.

All three generations are in the D.N.B. Records of Bengal Civilians. Scott's "Thirty-seven", on p. 30. General Evening Post, April 27, 29, 1784.

HARWOOD, William. Baptised February, 1744, in St. Mary's Parish, Newmarket, Suffolk, son of John Harwood. Bengal Writer, 1763. Factor, 1768. Supervisor of Rajamaul and Banghpore, 1770. Junior Merchant, same duties, 1771. Collector of the same districts, 1772. Senior Merchant and Member Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 1774. Chief at Dinagepore, 1775. At home, 1780; out of the service in 1788.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 4, 1762, no. 16. Records of Bengal Civilians. Scott's "Thirty-seven", on p. 30.

HARWOOD, Sir Busick. Physician; not a Nabob. Born about 1745, brother of the above. Apprenticed to an apothecary; left his master, went to London, and passed an examination as a surgeon. Then followed his brother to India, where he practised among the native princes, from whom he received large fees. Returned to England because of his health. Attended Christ's College, Cambridge. F.A.S. 1783; F.R.S. 1784. Chosen Professor of Anatomy at Cambridge, 1785. Downing Professor of Medicine at the University, 1800. Made pioneer experiments in blood transfusion. Knighted 1806. Seat: Bartlow, Cambridgeshire. Died Nov. 10, 1814.

D.N.B. Gent. Mag., 1814, p. 605.

HENCHMAN, Thomas. Born May 25, 1748, second son of Humphrey Henchman, Rector of Littleton, Middlesex. Bookkeeping and accounts at Brentford, under Ebenezer Bramble. Bengal Writer, 1765. Assistant at Cossimbuzar, 1769. Factor, same office, 1770. Resident at Maldah, 1771. Junior Merchant, same office, and Collector of Jehangipore, 1773. Senior Merchant, Resident at Maldah, 1776. At home by 1784. Senior Merchant, at home, 1788. Out of the service in 1793. Apparently resided in New Burlington Street, and died at Botleys, Surrey, July 24, 1804. Charlotte, daughter of Thomas Henchman of Littleton, Middlesex, married in 1796, Sir Joseph Mawbey, second Baronet.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1764, no. 15. Records of Bengal Civilians. Scott's "Thirty-seven", on p. 30. Gent. Mag., 1765, p. 359; 1804, p. 699. G.E.C., Complete Baronetage, vol. V, p. 136.

HOLWELL, John Zephaniah. Born 1711 in Dublin. Son of Zephaniah Holwell, timber merchant and citizen of London, and grandson of John Holwell, noted mathemetician and astronomer.

Educated at Richmond, Surrey and near Rotterdam. Employed for a time in a mercantile house near Rotterdam. Then went to England and studied medicine under Andrew Cooper, Senior Surgeon of Guy's Hospital. Went to Calcutta about 1732, as Surgeon's mate of the *Duke of Cumberland,* Indiaman. Settled there; made occasional voyages as medical officer on country ships. Familiarised himself with Oriental languages and customs. Became Principal Surgeon to the Presidency, 1746. Mayor of Calcutta, 1747-1748. Returned to England, 1749. Returned to Calcutta, 1751. Appointed Zemindar, or native magistrate; liked by the natives for his reforms. Seventh in Council, 1756. Commanded in the final defence of Fort William after the flight of Governor Drake. Put in the Black Hole. Survived. Sent to Murshidabad a prisoner. Released. Again in England, 1757. Returned to Bengal; became Second in Council. Temporary Governor, February-July, 1760, between Clive's departure and Vansittart's arrival from Madras. Received 30,937 pounds on the installation of Meer Cossim in that year. His dismissal directed for being one of those who protested against Vansittart's appointment to the Governorship; had already resigned. Returned to England. Settled for a time at Chiltern Lodge, near Hungerford, Berks. Devoted himself to literary pursuits which elicited the praise of Voltaire. His account of the Black Hole should be a classic. Died at Pinner, near Harrow, Nov. 5, 1798.

D.N.B. Asiatic Annual Register, vol. I, p. 25, under "Characters". Kelly's Directory of Berks, 1920, p. 96. Lysons' Mag. Brit., Berks, p. 261. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757.

HORNBY, William. Born about 1722. Bombay Writer, 1741. Member of Governor's Council, 1768. Governor of Bombay, 1771. Made over charge to his successor, Rawson Hart Boddam, and embarked for England, January 1, 1784. Presented a lion to the Tower of London. Purchased The Hook, Fareham, Hants, where he built a new residence which was a replica of Government House, Bombay. Died there Nov. 18, 1803. Twice married; his first wife was Anne Atkin.

Gent. Mag., 1803, p. 1188. Records of Bombay Civilians. Victoria History of Hampshire, III, 222, 225. Burke's Landed Gentry 1921. Pub. Ad., Oct. 29, 1784.

IRWIN, Eyles. Baptised at Calcutta, February 23, 1751, son of Captain James Irwin of Roscommon, Ireland. Educated in England under Mr. Rose at Chiswick, and in London. Madras Writer, 1766. Factor, 1774. "St. Thomas's Mount" and "Bedukah, or the Self-devoted", poems by him published in London in that year; afterwards wrote and published numerous other pieces, some Oriental in theme. Junior Merchant, 1776. Protested against Lord Pigot's deposition; suspended by the Council. Went to England for redress, carrying Pigot's confidential dispatch. Had been reinstated in the service before his arrival. Published a popular account of his journey home, which was translated into French. Senior Merchant, 1778. Married in that year, Honor, daughter of the Rev. William Brooke of Co. Longford. Returned to India, 1780, and remained until 1785. Apparently settled on an estate in Northern Ireland. In 1789 the Directors granted him a special reward of 6000 pagodas for his services. Sent on a mission to China about 1792. Spent his later years in retirement and literary pursuits; Member Royal Irish Academy. Wrote an elegy in memory of his eldest son, Captain James Brooke Irwin, 103rd Regiment, who was killed in the assault on Fort Erie, 1814. Died at Clifton, near Bristol, Aug. 12, 1817. Buried there.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 6, 1766, no. 7. D.N.B. Baker's Biographia Dramatica, II, 391. European Magazine, 1789, vol. XV, pp. 179-181. Notes and Queries, IVth Ser., vol. 11, p. 34. Princep's Madras Civilians.

JAMES, Sir William. Said to have been born about 1721, the son of a Pembrokeshire miller. Entered E. I. Company's marine service; appointed Commodore of their Navy, 1751. Destroyed, in 1755 and 1756, Severndroog and Gheriah, strongholds of Angria, a native pirate. Returned to England with a fortune about 1758. Park Farm Place, Eltham, Kent, and Gerrard Street, Soho. At his town residence Sterne first met Eliza Draper. M.P., West Looe, Cornwall, 1774, 1780. Cr. Baronet, 1778. F.R.S. Director, E. I. Co.; Chairman, 1779. Elder Brother of the Trinity House. Governor of Greenwich Hospital. Died in Gerrard Street, December, 1783. Had married Anne, daughter of Edward Goddard of Hartham, Wilts, related to Gen. Thomas Goddard, H.E.I.C.S. General Goddard bequeathed a large part of his fortune to Lady James. She erected, in Sir William's memory, a tower on Shooter's Hill, which still stands.

D.N.B.; also under Sterne. Wright and Sclater's Sterne's Eliza. Hasted's Kent, I, 457, 477. Parliamentary Return. Warren Hastings' Papers, Add. Mss. 29160, fol. 149b-150.

JOHNSTONE or JOHNSTON, John. Born about 1731, son of Sir James Johnstone, Bart., of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire, by Barbara Murray, daughter of the fourth Lord Elibank. A brother of Commodore George Johnstone, R.N. (see D.N.B.), afterwards M.P. and active in India House politics. John Johnstone arrived in Bengal as Writer, 1751. Assistant at Dacca, 1756. Permitted, with the others at that place, to take refuge in the French Factory there. His brother, Patrick Johnstone, a Writer at Fort William, died in the Black Hole. Lieutenant Fireworker, 1757; in charge of a gun at Plassey. Military rank temporary; Factor in the Civil Service. Paymaster to the forces during Forde's campaign in the Northern Circars. Secretary to Eyre Coote during the expedition against Law. Resident at Midnapur, 1760. Chief at Burdwan, 1763. Quarreled with Clive; ordered to be dismissed the service, 1764. Chief of the deputation which negotiated the accession of Nujum-uddaula; received 27,650 pounds. Another brother, Gideon Johnstone, Writer, 1765, resigned, 1767, received 5,833 pounds on the same occasion.

Bengal: Past and Present, vol. VIII, p. 184. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. For Gideon Johnstone: Records of Bengal Civilians, For Patrick Johnstone: Writers' Petitions, vol. 2, 1753, no. 26. I.O. Home Miscellaneous, 78.

LAW, Ewan or Evan. Baptised Oct. 30, 1747, son of the Rev. Edmund Law, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. Bengal Writer, 1764. Assistant at Patna, 1768. Factor, Fourth in Council at Patna, 1770. Junior Merchant, same office, 1772. Third at Patna, 1774. Senior Merchant, same office, 1776. Chief at Patna, 1777. At home, 1780; out of the service, 1782. Settled at Horsted Place, Little Horsted, Sussex. M.P., Newtown, Isle of Wight, 1802, in succession to his brother, Edward, who became the first Baron Ellenborough. Married 1784, Henrietta, daughter of William Markham, Archbishop of York, and sister of William Markham, H.E.I.C.S. Two of his sons, Ewan Law, and George Ewan Law, died in India. His sister, Joanna, married Sir Thomas Rumbold (q. v.) of whose will he was one of the executors. His nephew, Edward Law, first Earl of Ellenborough, son

of the above mentioned Baron Ellenborough, became Governor-General of India.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1763, no. 1. Records of Bengal Civilians. Horsfield's Sussex, I, 373-374. Parliamentary Return. Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer, June 30, 1784; Berry's Sussex Genealogies. Wills, Somerset House, Bevor, 595. Bengal: Past and Present, II, 358; III, 370.

LAWRENCE, Gen. Stringer. Born March 6, 1697, son of John Lawrence of Hereford. Apparently appointed Ensign at Gibraltar, 1727; may have served previously in the ranks. Lieutenant, 1736; probably fought at Culloden. Arrived at Fort St. David, 1748, as Major in the Company's service, commissioned to command all their troops. Reorganised their army. Taken prisoner by the French. Released at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Clive became his firm friend when serving under him as Lieutenant in 1749. Returned to England, 1750. Returned to Fort St. David, 1752. Defeated the French at Bahur. Lt.-Col., 1754. As Brig.-General conducted the defence of Fort St. George against the unsuccessful siege by Lally, December 1758-February 1759. Promoted Major-General, and left India in 1759. Clive supplemented his modest income with an annuity of 500 pounds. Spent much time at Haldon, with his old friend Robert Palk (q. v.). Died at his London residence on Bruton Street, January 10, 1775. Buried in the village church of Dunchideock, near Exeter, where Palk erected him a tomb the epitaph on which was written by Hannah More. Palk also built, in his memory, a tower on a hill near Haldon House.

D.N.B.

LEYCESTER, Ralph. Born September 4, 1737, son of Ralph Leycester of Toft Hall, Knutsford, Cheshire, which had been in possession of the family since the Fifteenth Century. Bengal Writer, 1754. Assistant in the Import Warehouse, 1756. Escaped to the ships. Back in the Import Warehouse, 1757. Married, 1762, Charlotte, sister of Henry Lushington, killed at Patna. Received 13,125 pounds on the accession of Nujum-uddaula, 1765. Apparently returned to England by 1773 and settled at Hall Grove, near Bagshot, Surrey. Succeeded to the Toft estate on the death of his unmarried elder brother in 1809. Clive had a low opinion of his personal courage.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 2, 1753, no. 28. Hill's Bengal In 1756-

1757. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. List of India Stock Proprietors, 1773. Bengal: Past and Present, V, 210.

LIVIUS, George or George Peter. Eldest son of Peter Lewis Livius, Prussian envoy to Portugal. Bengal writer, 1772. Military Storekeeper, 1775. Factor, same office, 1777. Junior Merchant, unemployed, 1782; out of the service, 1783. Had been favored by Francis, to whom he had been recommended by Edward Wheler, Chairman E. I. Co., 1773-1774. Settled at Caldwell Priory, near Bedford. Married Mary, daughter of Joseph Foster Barham. Died at Bedford, Dec. 16, 1816.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1850, vol. III, supplement. Records of Bengal Civilians. I.O., Francis Mss., no. 36, fol. 68. Lysons' Mag. Brit., Bedfordshire, pp. 47-48. Victoria History of Bedfordshire, III, 21. Gent. Mag., 1816, p. 573.

MACKETT or MACKET, William. Born about 1723; perhaps a connection of Captain William Mackett, commander of the *Princess of Wales,* East Indiaman, who died in 1729. Arrived in Bengal, 1741. Member of Council and Buxey (Paymaster), 1756. Saw his wife, who was very ill, safe on board a ship; then found himself unable to return to Fort William; offered, unavailingly, 1000 rupees for a boat. Member of Council, Military Storekeeper, 1757. Received 11,367 pounds on the setting up of Mir Jafir in that year. He was a brother-in-law of Captain Henry Speke, R.N., severely wounded in the operations which led to the capture of Chandernagore, 1757.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Historical Register Chronicle, 1729, p. 21.

MACLEANE, Lauchlan. Said by his enemies to have started life as an unsuccessful drug salesman in Philadelphia; by his friends to have taken M.D. degrees at Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Edinburgh, afterwards practising successfully in America. Entered the Bengal Army as Captain, 1758; retired as Major, 1766. Returned to England. Resided for a time in Bridge Road, opposite the Lying-in Hospital, on the Surrey side of Westminster Bridge. M.P., Arundel, Sussex, 1768; Sir George Colebrooke, Chairman, E. I. Co., 1769-70, 1772, was proprietor of the Borough. Appointed Collector of Philadelphia, 1772. In that year, he was, by Colebrooke's influence, reappointed to Bengal as Lieutenant-Colonel and Commis-

sary-General. Selected by Hastings in 1775 to act as his agent in England; also represented the Nawab Wallajah. Died in England, 1778.

Pub. Ad., Jan. 15, July 31, Aug. 1, 3, 4, 19, 1772; July 15, 1773. Palk Mss., p. 189, footnote. Parliamentary Return. Oldfield's Borough History, II, 167.

MACPHERSON, Sir John. Born 1745, son of the Rev. John Macpherson (D.D. Aberdeen), Minister of Sleat in the Isle of Sky, by Janet Macleod. Educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and the University of Edinburgh. Went to India, 1767, as nominal purser of an Indiaman commanded by his maternal uncle, Alexander Macleod. Returned to England, 1768, on a secret mission for the Nawab Muhammad Ali, whose confidence he had gained at Madras, and who was much involved with his creditors. Macpherson went back to Madras as a Writer in 1770, and remained there six years. Helped procure additional loans for the Nawab. Dismissed the service, 1776, for plotting to set the home government against the Company. Returned to England, 1777, bearing dispatches from the Nawab. M.P., Cricklade, Wilts, 1779; his return in 1780 declared void. While in the House suspected of having been one of the members supposedly under the Nawab's influence. Appointed to fill Barwell's place on the Supreme Council at Calcutta, 1781. Succeeded Hastings as Governor-General, 1785. Cr. Baronet, 1786. Superseded by Cornwallis in that year. Returned home; applied for a pension of 2000 pounds per annum. The Directors granted him a lump sum of about 15,000 pounds, and in 1809, an additional pension of 1000 pounds per annum in return for the assignment of a 10,000 pound claim which he held on the Nawab. Elected M.P. for Cricklade, Wilts, 1788; unseated for bribery and fined 3000 pounds. M.P., Horsham, Sussex, 1796-1802. Died in 1821, at his residence, Grove House, 11 Brompton Grove, the site of which is now occupied by Ovington Gardens. Unmarried. A man of great personal charm, but questionable character.

D.N.B., G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. Parliamentary Return. Chancellor's History of the Squares of London.

M'GUIRE or MACGWIRE, William. Entered the Company's service prior to 1756, in which year he was at home. His wife and three children, who were in Calcutta, escaped to the ships. Afterwards

reported to have become Chief at Patna. Received 29,375 pounds on the accession of Mir Cossim in 1760. Returned to England about 1764. Purchased about 1766, Hill Park, then known as Valons, Westerham, Kent. Sold it a few years later to the Earl of Hillsborough, who changed its name. Died near Kingston, Surrey, July 12, 1781.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Gent. Mag., 1781, p. 344. Hasted's Kent, III. 171.

MARRIOTT, Randolph. Born June 18, 1736, son of the Rev. Randolph Marriott, D.D., Chaplain to George II and Rector of Darfield, Yorkshire, by Lady Diana Fielding, daughter of the fourth Earl of Denbigh. Writer, in Export Warehouse, Calcutta, 1753. Assistant at Cossimbuzar, 1754. At Cossimbuzar, 1756; took refuge in one of the other European factories there. Factor, 1757. Apparently served at Plassey; reported sent to awaken Clive on the morning of the battle, and to have received a medal. Senior Merchant and Second in Council at Chittagong, 1762. Twelfth in Governor's Council, Buxey, and Paymaster of the new works, 1763. Eighth in Governor's Council and Chief at Benares, 1765. Out of the service in 1767. Married, 1769, Elizabeth, daughter of the Right Rev. Christopher Wilson, Bishop of Bristol. Settled at Leases Hall, near Bedale, North Riding, Yorkshire. Died June 2, 1807. His third son was Lt.-General Thomas Marriott, H.E.I.C.S.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Records of Bengal Civilians. Pub. Ad., June 5, 1773; January 4, 1780; Oct. 30, 1783.

MARRIOTT, William. Brother of the above. Baptised October 24, 1744, at Darfield, West Riding of Yorkshire. Accounts under T. Drury, Long Houghton, Yorkshire. Bengal Writer, 1764. Assistant under his brother at Benares, 1765. Factor and Assistant at Burdwan, 1770. Supervisor of Dinagepore, 1771. Junior Merchant and Collector of Dinagepore, 1772. On leave to Europe, 1773. Married, January 1774, Jane, daughter of Peter Capper of Redland, near Bristol. Senior Merchant and Member Calcutta Revenue Committee, 1776. Second in Council of Revenue at Burdwan, 1777. Chief at Burdwan, 1779. Proceeded to Europe, 1781. Out of the service in 1782. Died at Pershore, Worcestershire, December 16, 1803.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1763, no. 15. Records of Bengal Civilians.

MARSAC or MARSACK, Major Charles. Reputed a son of George II. 2nd Lieutenant, Bengal Army, 1765. Lieutenant, 1767. Captain, 1771. Resigned January 27, 1779. Married Charlotte, daughter of Richard Becher (q.v.), after his return from India. Purchased, about 1783, Caversham Park, Oxfordshire, from the Earl of Cadogan. Sheriff, 1787. Died January 26, 1837. His real estate was valued at 107,000 pounds, and his personal property at 75,000 to 76,000 pounds.

Notes and Queries, 11th Series, vol. XI, p. 115. Dodwell and Miles, Indian Army List, pp. 172-173. Pub. Ad., Aug. 27, Nov. 4, 1784. Neale's Views of Seats, 2nd Series, Vol. I, 1824.

MARTIN, William Byam. Born in Mark Lane, London, March 17, 1744 or '45, third son of Samuel Martin of Antigua, British West Indies. One of his brothers, Samuel Martin, was Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Bute; the other became Sir Henry Martin Bart., Comptroller of the Navy. Matthew Martin of Mark Lane, Director, E. I. Co., 1722-1729, 1732-1740, was a probable connection. William Byam Martin was taught bookkeeping and accounts by his father and his father's clerk, prior to their departure for the West Indies. He arrived in Bengal as a Writer in 1765. Factor and Assistant under Council of Revenues at Moorshedabad, 1770. Junior Merchant and Collector of Rockenpore, 1773. Resident at the Durbar, 1775. Senior Merchant, same office, 1776. Unemployed, 1777. Resident at the Durbar, 1778. Unemployed, 1780. Proceeded to Europe, 1781. Out of the service, 1782. Purchased White Knights, near Reading; spent much money improving and beautifying the estate. Sheriff of Berks, 1785. Sold White Knights to the then Marquis of Blandford, about 1798. Died at Bath, April 3, 1806. His youngest son, Cornet Henry Yorke Martin, Madras Native Cavalry, died 1808.

Gent. Mag., 1806, p. 388. Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1764, no. 13. Records of Bengal Civilians. Victoria History of Berkshire, III, 215. Gent. Mag., 1809, p. 477.

MASKELYNE, Edmund. Baptised at Purton, Wilts, Aug. 9, 1728, son of Edmund Maskelyne of the Secretary of State's Office, Whitehall, by Elizabeth Booth. Nephew of William Maskelyne, H.E.I.C.S., died at Fort Marlborough, Sumatra, 1735, and of Elizabeth Maskelyne, who married Joseph Walsh, Governor of Fort St.

George, and father of John Walsh (q. v.). Appointed to a Madras Writership by the influence of the Duke of Newcastle. Became intimate with Clive, who married his sister, Margaret. Entered the Madras Army; served as a Lieutenant, 1751; taken prisoner. Started in command of a company on Clive's relief expedition to Bengal after the loss of Calcutta. A.D.C. to Clive on his return to Bengal as Governor, 1764. Settled at Basset Down House, Swindon, Wilts. Died Sept. 14, 1775.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Forrest's Clive, I, 211. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757, I, 228; III, 60.

MIDDLETON, Nathaniel. Had been Resident in Oudh. Settled at Townhill, Hants. Much improved the estate. Sheriff, 1800. Married Anne Frances Morse. Died November 7, 1807, at his house in St. James's Square. His son, Hastings Nathaniel Middleton, married Emilia, daughter of Charles Purling, H.E.I.C.S.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Victoria History of Hampshire, III, 484. Wilks's History of Hampshire, II, 122. Gent. Mag., 1807, p. 1084.

MONCKTON, Hon. Edward. Born November 3, 1744, in the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, fifth son of the first Viscount Galway. Madras Writer, 1762; Petition endorsed in the name of William Pitt. Factor, 1768. Junior Merchant, 1771. Senior Merchant, 1774. Married, 1776, Sophia, illegitimate daughter of Lord Pigot (q. v.). Out of the service in 1780. Settled at Somerford Hall, near Brewood, Staffordshire. London residence: Portland Place. Elected M.P. for Stafford Borough, with R. B. Sheridan, 1780; re-elected, 1784, 1790, 1796, 1802, 1806, 1807. His son, Claude Monckton, H.E.I.C.S., died at the Cape in August, 1814.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Writers' Petitions, vol. 4, 1761, no. 11. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Parliamentary Return. Pub. Ad., Sept. 20, 1780, (see text p. 108). Gent. Mag., 1814, p. 603.

MUNRO, General Sir Hector. Born 1726, son of Hugh Munro of Novar, Cromartyshire, by Isobel Gordon. Ensign in Sir H. Munro's Company of Loudoun's Highlanders, 1747. Ensign, 48th Foot, 1749. Captain, 1756. Major in the newly raised Gordon Highlanders, 1759. Arrived at Bombay with the Regiment, 1761. Succeeded Carnac (q. v.) in command of the Company's forces at Patna;

restored the mutinous troops to discipline. Won the battle of Buxar, 1764. Resigned command of the Company's troops soon after, and went home. Lieutenant-Colonel, 1765. Returned to Madras with Sir Thomas Rumbold (q. v.), 1778. Took command of the Company's army as Major-General. Captured Pondicherry, 1778. K. B., 1779. Commanded the right under Coote at Porto Novo, 1781. Returned home 1782; made a Major-General on the English establishment. Spent his later years improving his estates at Novar. M.P., Inverness Boroughs, 1768, 1774, 1780, 1784, 1790, 1796-1802. Died 1805.

D.N.B. Foster's Scotch Members of Parliament. Pub. Ad., Aug. 5, 1772.

ORME, Robert. Born Christmas Day, 1728, at Anjengo, second son of Alexander Orme, Surgeon and Chief at that place. When about two years old sent to England to his aunt, Mrs. Robert Adams of Cavendish Square, London. Educated at Harrow from about 1734-1741. Then placed one year in the office of the Accountant-General of the African Company. Went to Calcutta, where his elder brother, William, was a Writer, and entered the employ of Jackson and Wedderburn, a mercantile firm. Made a voyage to Surat. Returned to Calcutta, 1743; appointed a Writer. Acquired a reputation for his knowledge of native manners and customs. Visited England, 1753. Took an active part in the deliberations of the Madras Council, of which he was appointed a Member in 1754. Intimate with Clive for some years. Commissary and Accountant-General, 1757-1758. Left India because of his health in the latter year; had gained a small fortune. The *Grantham* on which he voyaged home was captured by the French; taken to Nantes before finally reaching England in 1760. Settled at a house in Harley Street and commenced work on his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan,* for which he had been collecting materials since 1742. Volume I was published in 1763; volume II, in two parts, followed in 1778. A minute, standard, work. Went through several editions. F.S.A., 1770. From about 1768, Historiographer to the East India Company at a salary of 400 pounds per annum. Fond of music, painting, and sculpture; a friend of Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Also published in 1781, *Historical Fragments,* dealing with an earlier period than his *History.* Retired to Great Ealing, Middlesex, died and buried there, 1801. General Richard Smith (q. v.) is said to have written the inscription on his tomb.

D.N.B. Forrest's Clive, I, 209. Faulkner's History and Antiquities of Brentford, Ealing, and Chiswick, pp. 190; 231-236.

PALK, Sir Robert. Born 1717 at Ambrooke, Devon, son of Walter Palk of Ashburton, Devon. Attended Grammar School and matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, in 1736. Took Deacon's orders. Accompanied Admiral Boscawen's expedition to the East Indies as Chaplain, 1747. Appointed Company's Chaplain at Fort St. David, 1749, in place of Fordyce, who had been dismissed because of his fracas with Clive. Afterwards renounced his orders and entered the civil service. Member of the Madras Council, 1753. Married, 1761, Anne, sister of Henry and George Vansittart (q. v.). Governor of Madras, 1763-1767. Returned to England in the latter year with a large fortune. Settled at Haldon House, 4½ miles from Exeter. Remodelled the house and replanted the grounds. London address, 1773: Spring Gardens. Became, jointly with Lord Orford, proprietor of the borough of Ashburton, Devon. M.P., Ashburton, 1767; Wareham, Dorset, 1768; Ashburton, 1774, 1780, 1784. Cr. Baronet, 1782. Perpetual Governor of St. George's Hospital. Died April 29, 1798. Succeeded by his son, Lawrence, named after General Stringer Lawrence (q. v.). In 1880 the then Sir L. Palk was raised to the Peerage as Baron Haldon.

G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. D.N.B. Palk Mss., Historical Manuscripts Commission. Polwhele's Devon, I, 309; II, 181-182. Devon Notes and Queries, vol. IV, pt. I, p. 227.

PARRY, Edward. Baptised September 3, 1750, at Isleworth, Middlesex, son of Robert Parry, Esq. Bengal Writer, 1767. Factor and Export Warehouse Keeper, 1772. Junior Merchant, same office, 1776. At home, 1780; out of the service, 1788. Director, E. I. Co., 1797-1826. Died July 1827 in England.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 6, 1766, no. 20. Records of Bengal Civilians. Prinsep's Madras Civilians, p. XV.

PATTLE, Thomas. Born April 30, 1748, son of Captain Thomas Pattle of Poplar. Educated at John Chalmers' Putney Boarding School. Bengal Writer, 1765. Factor and Secretary to the Council of Revenues at Moorshedabad, 1771. Collector of Lushkerpore and Fourth in Council at Cossimbuzar, 1771. Junior Merchant and Resident at Bauleah, 1774. Senior Merchant, same office, 1778. At

home, 1780. Director, E. I. Co., 1787-1795. Returned to Bengal about the latter year. Filled various offices. Resigned the service, January 22, 1810, and returned to Europe. Died August 8, 1818, at which time he resided in Bryanstone Street, Portman Square.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 6, 1765, no. 43. Records of Bengal Civilians. Pub. Ad., November 19, December 8, 1784. List of Directors in Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Gent. Mag., 1818, p. 376.

PIGOT, George, Lord. Baptised May 31, 1719, at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, son of Richard Pigot of Westminster (baptised at Hodnet, Salop) by Francis Goode, tirewoman to Queen Consort Caroline. Writer, 1736. Governor of Madras, 1755. Resigned and returned to England, 1763. Cr. Baronet, 1764. Raised to the Irish Peerage, 1766. Purchased Patshull, 8 miles from Wolverhampton, Staffs, for a sum estimated at 100,000 pounds. London residence: Soho Square. Owned the famous Pigot diamond. M.P., Wallingford, Berks, 1765; Bridgnorth, Salop, 1768 until his death. Reappointed Governor of Madras, 1775. Came into violent conflict with the majority of his Council over the claims of the Nawab's creditors. They forcibly deposed and arrested him. Died in illegal confiement at Madras, May 11, 1777. Unmarried. One of his illegitimate daughters married Edward Monckton (q.v.).

G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. D.N.B. Pub. Ad., June 18, 1768.

PLAYDELL or PLEYDELL, Charles Stafford. Perhaps a connection of Edmund Morton Playdell, Governor of Ajendo and M.P. for Dorset, died 1754. C. S. Playdell arrived in Bengal as a Writer in 1744. Factor and Second at Jugdea, 1749. Junior Merchant and Second at Cossimbuzar, 1753. Senior Merchant, unemployed, at Jugdea in 1756. Resident at Balasore, 1758. Sixth in Governor's Council and Chief at Dacca, 1759. Absent from India, 1762. Fourth in Governor's Council and Chief at Chittagong, 1765; received 11,667 pounds on the accession of Nujum-uddaula. Returned to England and remained until about 1771; then went out to India again. Appointed Superintendent of Police by Hastings, 1774. Ousted by the Clavering faction in the following year. Reinstated by order of the Court of Directors. Died at Calcutta, May 28, 1779. Had married in 1759, Elizabeth, daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell (q.v.).

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Records of Bengal Civilians. Palk Mss., p. 252, footnote 4.

PLUMER, Hall. Born June 3, 1751, at Oporto, Portugal, elder son of Thomas Plumer, wine merchant, by Ann, daughter of Henry Thompson of Kirby Hall, Yorkshire. Madras Writer, 1769. Factor, 1774. Junior Merchant, 1778. Senior Merchant, 1780. No official record after 1782. Said to have cleared 60,000 pounds as public works contractor at Madras. Apparently returned to England and settled at the ancestral estate of his family, Lilling Hall, Sheriff Hutton, North Riding of Yorkshire. Died at York, April 25, 1820. His younger brother, who became Sir Thomas Plumer, Attorney-General, defended Rumbold before the bar of the House of Commons in 1783, and was one of Hastings' counsel during the impeachment.

Harleian Society, Familiae Minorum Gentium, vol. III, p. 941, ms. 397. Writers' Petitions, vol. 6a, 1768, no. 37. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Memoirs of William Hickey, II, 194. Gent. Mag., 1820, p. 475. For Sir Thomas Plumer, see D.N.B.; statement that he was the elder son is incorrect.

PYBUS, John. Born November 22, 1727, son of Captain Bryan Pybus (born at Thirsk, York), agent to the packet boats at Dover. Madras Writer, 1742. One of the eight volunteer officers who joined Clive in the attack and subsequent defence of Arcot. Chief at Masulipatam. Sent on an embassy to the King of Ceylon. Member of Council at Madras, 1768. Returned to England on the *Hector* in that year. Purchased Greenhill Grove, Chipping Barnet, Herts; sold it to General Prevost about 1782. Had apparently settled previously at Cheam, Surrey, where he continued to reside. One of the founders, in 1784, of the banking firm of Pybus's Call Grant & Co., on Bond Street. John Call (q. v.) one of the partners. Died at Cheam, June 22, 1789. Married in October, 1753, Martha, daughter of Charles Small of Lewisham, Kent; by her he had two sons and six daughters. His second son, Charles Small Pybus, became M.P. for Dover and a Lord of the Admiralty. His second daughter, Ann, married General Sir Robert Fletcher (q. v.).

Betham's Baronetage, III, 399, footnote. Manning and Bray's Surrey, II, 476-477. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Palk Mss., p 17, footnote 1. Cussans' Hertfordshire, II, 54; Pub. Ad., August 28,

1783. Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Ms. 29166, fol. 254b. Gent. Mag., 1789, p. 578.

BOUGHTON, afterwards BOUGHTON-ROUSE or ROUS, afterwards ROUSE-BOUGHTON, Sir Charles William. Christened in St. Nicholas's, Worcester, December 16, 1747, son of Shugbura "Bouton" Esq., by Mary, daughter of the Hon. Algernon Greville. Bengal Writer, 1765; Petition endorsed by Thomas Rous, Director, 1745-1771. Persian Interpreter to the Army, 1768. Factor and Supervisor of Bhadshai, 1770. Junior Merchant and Judge of the Court of Suddur Dewanee Adawlut, 1773. President of the Court and Import Warehouse Keeper, 1774. Chief at Dacca, 1775. Senior Merchant, same office, 1776. Out of the service in 1778. On the death of his distant cousin, Thomas Philips-Rouse, in 1768, he succeeded to the estate of Rouse Lench, Worcestershire, and took the name Boughton-Rouse which he later changed to Rouse-Boughton. He married, June 3, 1782, at St. James's, Westminster, Catherine, daughter and heiress of William Pearce of Downton Hall, Stanton Lacy, Salop, and succeeded to that estate on the death of his father-in-law. London residence: Lower Grosvenor Street. Cr. Baronet, 1791. M.P., Evesham, Worcestershire, 170, 1784; Bramber, Sussex, 1796. Died February 26, 1821.

G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. Writers' Petitions, vol. 5, 1764, no. 4. Records of Bengal Civilians. Morning Herald & Daily Ad., June 17, 1784. Parliamentary Return. Victoria History of Worcestershire, III, 499.

RUMBOLD, Sir Thomas. Born January 15, 1735/36, at Long Leyton, Essex, son of William Rumbold, H.E.I.C.S., (died 1745, at Tellicherry), by Dorothy Maud, daughter of Richard Cheney of Hackney. Writer, 1752. Became a Lieutenant in the Army of the Company; wounded in 1757 during the operations that led to the restoration of the Company's position at Calcutta. Returned to the Civil Service. Married, 1756, at Madras, Frances Berriman, buried 1764 at Calcutta. In England on furlough, part of 1762-1763. Member of Bengal Council, 1766-1769; returned to England in the latter year. M.P., New Shoreham, Sussex, 1770; his elections for Shaftesbury, Dorset, in 1774 and 1775 were voided as having been gained by corruption. Appointed Governor of Madras, 1777; cr. Baronet, 1779. Returned to England in 1780 with a fortune estimated at half

a million sterling. M.P., Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 1781; accused of corruption and dismissed the Company's service in that year. A Bill of Pains and Penalties against him was brought into the House of Commons; after passing two readings it was allowed to lapse. M.P., Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Dorset, 1784. Purchased, 1778, the estate of Watton Woodhall, Herts. London residence: Queen Anne Street. Died there November 11, 1791. As his 2nd wife, he married in 1772, Joanna Law, sister of Ewan Law (q. v.).

D.N.B. G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, II, 473, 475, 490. Cussans's Hertfordshire, II, 170-171.

SAGE, Isaac. Born September 10, 1741, in the Parish of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, London, son of John Sage. Bengal Writer, 1763; had been previously employed at Fort William. Paymaster to the army under Carnac (q. v.), 1764. Resident at Benares, 1766. Subtreasurer, 1767. Resigned the Service in that year. Arrived in England, April, 1768. Chief of the Council of Revenue at Patna, 1775. Resigned the Service January 3, 1777, and arrived in England November 5th. London residence, 1790: Bolton Street. His daughter married William Mullins of Burnham, Co. Kerry.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 4, 1762, no. 35. Records of Bengal Civilians. Gent. Mag., 1790, p. 569.

SCOTT, afterwards SCOTT-WARING, Major John. Born 1747 at Shrewsbury, son of Johnathan Scott, by Mary, daughter of Humphrey Sandford of the Isle of Rossall, Salop. The Scotts had been settled in Shropshire since the Sixteenth Century. John Scott entered the Company's service about 1766 and became a Major in the Bengal division. Sent to England by Hastings as his political agent in 1781. M.P., West Looe, 1784; Stockbridge, 1790. By the death of his cousin, Richard Hill Waring, he inherited in 1798, the estate of Ince in Cheshire and took the name Scott-Waring. Sheriff of Cheshire, 1801. Sold the estate to Robert Peel and Edmund Yates for 80,000 pounds; bought Peterborough House, Parsons Green, Fulham. Died at his London residence, Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, May 5, 1819. Married: 1. Maria, daughter of Jacob Hughes of Cashell. 2. Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Blackrie of Bromley, Kent, sometime Surgeon, H.E.I.C.S. She died 1796. 3. Mrs. Esten, a widowed actress. Edward, his son by his second wife, became a

distinguished Bengal Civil Servant. Major Scott's three brothers, and a cousin, Captain Edward Sandford, were all also H.E.I.C.S.

D.N.B. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Parliamentary Return. Ormerod's Cheshire, II, 12-13. Gent. Mag., 1791, p. 779; 1801, p. 663.

SENIOR, Ascanius William. Bengal Writer, 1753. Escaped to the ships at the capture of Calcutta. Clerk to Committee of Works, 1757. Same office, also Subimport Warehousekeeper and Accountant General of the Mayor's Court, 1759. Junior Merchant, Second in Council at Dacca, 1762. Senior Merchant, Eleventh in Governor's Council and Chief at Cossimbazar, 1763. Received 20,125 pounds on the accession of Nujum-uddaula, 1765. Tenth in Council, resigned the Service, 1766. Purchased Pierpont Lodge, Surrey, from the Duke of Kingston in 1771; sold it in 1778.

Records of Bengal Civilians. Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757. Manning and Bray's Surrey, III, 167.

SHAKESPEAR, John. Born 1748 in the Parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, son of John Shakespear, ropemaker, Alderman of London, 1767-1775, and Sheriff, 1768-1769. Bengal Writer, 1767. Assistant at the Durbar and employed under the Supervisor of Jessore, 1770. Assistant Secretary and Subzemindar, 1771. Factor; Zemindar, Assistant Secretary, and Secretary to the Board of inspection, 1772. Supervisor, 1773. Assistant and Fourth in Council at Dacca, 1774. Junior Merchant, same office, 1776. Chief at Dacca, 1778. Senior Merchant, same office, 1779. Out of the Service in 1782. Settled at Brookwood, Hants. Died 1825 at Cheltenham. His son, John Talbot Shakespear, H.E.I.C.S., married Emily, daughter of W. M. Thackeray (q. v.), and was the father of Sir Richmond Shakespear, immortalized by Thackeray in *On Letts's Diary,* one of the *Roundabout Papers.*

Writers' Petitions, vol. 6, 1765-66, no. 15. Beaven's Aldermen of London. Records of Bengal Civilians. Gent. Mag., 1815, p. 381. Bengal: Past and Present, VI, 133-134.

SMITH, Charles. Baptised 1736 in St. Mary-le-Bow, son of Thomas Smith? Madras Writer, 1753. Senior Merchant, 1768. Member of Governor's Council, 1774. Governor from November, 1780, until June, 1781, ad interim between Whitehill and Macartney. Made

over charge to the latter, and embarked for England, June 22, 1781. Died of apoplexy, January 24, 1784, at his house in Upper Harley Street. Married: 1. In 1762, Elizabeth Carvalho. 2. In 1772, Frances Law.

Writers' Petitions, vol. 1, 1752, compare nos. 25 and 28. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Palk Mss., p. 146, note 1. Public Advertiser, January 27, 1784; Gent. Mag., 1784, p. 75.

SMITH, General Joseph. Born about 1733, son of Joseph Smith, Gunner and Engineer of Fort St. George in 1744. The younger Smith entered the Madras service as Ensign in 1749. Defended Trichinopoly against D'Auteuil, 1757. Promoted Major, 1760. As Brigadier-General commanded the Madras Army almost continuously from 1767 to 1775. Conducted the campaigns against Hyder Ali and the Rajah of Tanjore, and the expedition of 1772 against the Maravars. Retired to England in 1775. Enjoyed a reputation for virtue comparable, perhaps, only with that of Cartier (q.v.). Died September 1, 1790, at his house in the Circus, Bath.

Palk Mss., p. 23, note 1. Gent. Mag., 1790, p. 861. Price's Saddle Put On The Right Horse.

SMITH, General Richard. Origin obscure. Lieutenant on the Madras establishment from 1753. Commanded at Chingleput as Captain, 1758. Resigned and sailed for England, 1761. Appointed to Bengal by the Directors, 1764. Colonel, commanding the Bengal Army, 1767. Retired as Brigadier-General, 1769. Attracted much attention in England; supposed to have been the original of Sir Matthew Mite in Foote's *Nabob*. Purchased Chiltern Lodge, near Hungerford, Berkshire; Sheriff of Berks, 1779. Prominent on the turf; a member of the Jockey Club. Elected M.P. for Hindon, Wilts, in 1774; his election was voided because of brazen corruption, and he was fined 666 pounds and sentenced to six months in jail. M.P. for Wendover, Bucks, 1780. One of Fox's Martyrs in 1784. Said to have lost his fortune at the gaming table, and to have fled to France to escape his creditors. Apparently again returned to Parliament for Wareham, Dorset, in 1790. London residence: Harley Street. According to Faulkner's History of Brentford, Ealing, and Chiswick (1845), he wrote the inscription on the tomb of his friend, Robert Orme (q.v.), who died in 1801.

Palk Mss., p. 113, footnote. Parliamentary Return. Westminster

Magazine, 1776, p. 287. Grand's Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident in India, pp. 25-28. Memoirs of William Hickey. Public Advertiser, July 26, August 5, 7, 12, September 7, 25, 30, 1784. Fox's Martyrs, or A New Book of the Sufferings of the Faithful, p. 57. Racing Calendar, 1780 and 1781. Robert Black's The Jockey Club and its Founders, p. 135.

SPENCER, JOHN. Received 23,333 pounds in 1765. Governor of Bombay. Died in July, 1767, while on his voyage to England.

Table, p. 10. London Magazine, 1767, p. 372.

STRACHEY, HENRY. Born May 23, 1737, in Edinburgh, one of the eleven children of Henry Strachey of Sutton Court, Somerset, by Helen, daughter of Robert Clerk, M.D., of Edinburgh. Secretary to Clive in India, 1764. M.P., Pontefract, York, 1768. Bishop's Castle, 1780-1802, East Grinstead, Sussex, 1806. Secretary to the Commission for Restoring Peace in America, 1774. Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance, 1778. Joint Secretary of the Treasury, 1782. Storekeeper of the Ordnance, 1783. Assisted the Commissioners at the Peace of Paris. Master of the King's Household, 1794. F.S.A. Cr. Baronet, 1801. Seats: Sutton Court, Somerset, and Rook's Nest, Tandridge, Surrey. London residence, 1773: Park Street, Grosvenor Square. Died January 1, 1810, in Hill Street, Berkeley Square. Married 1770, Jane, daughter of John Kelsall of Greenwich, relict of Captain Thomas Latham, R. N. Their three sons were all H.E.I.C.S.

Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography. Betham's Baronetage, vol. V, p. 431. Gent. Mag., 1810, p. 93. List of Proprietors of India Stock, 1773. Parliamentary Return.

STRATTON, GEORGE. Born about 1734, eldest son of John Stratton, Fifth in Council at Madras in 1742, by Mary Houghton. Madras Writer, 1751. Member of Governor's Council, 1768. A ringleader in the illegal deposition of Lord Pigot; assumed the Governorship after Pigot's arrest, 1776. Recalled, 1777. Suspended from the Service, 1780. M.P., Callington, Cornwall, 1779, 1780. Purchased Tew Park, Great Tew, Oxfordshire; Sheriff, 1799. Died at his house in Devonshire Place, London, March 20, 1800. His wife had been a Miss Light.

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Parliamentary Return. Gent. Mag., 1800, p. 392.

SUMNER, William Brightwell. Born about 1730, grandson of a Bristol merchant, son of —— Sumner of Windsor, and elder brother of John Sumner, D.D., Canon of Windsor and Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Bengal Writer, 1744. Senior Merchant, 1756. Escaped to the ships at the capture of Calcutta. Sub-export Warehousekeeper, 1757. Received 28,000 pounds on the accession of Meer Cossim in 1760. Returned to England, but went back to India with Clive in 1764; Second in Council, Accountant and Comptroller General. Out of the Service in 1767. Purchased Hatchlands, East Clandon, Surrey, about 1770, from the widow of Admiral Boscawen. Sheriff of Surrey, 1777. Married Catherine, daughter of John Holme, of Holme Hill, Cumberland. Their daughter, Catherine, married James Lawrell, H.E.I.C.S. Their son, George Holme Sumner, M.P. for Surrey in the Parliaments of 1812, 1818, and 1820, married a daughter of Col. Charles Pemble, H.E.I.C.S. (Bombay).

Burke's Landed Gentry, 1837. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. III, p. 49. Brayley's Topographical History of Surrey, ed. 1841, vol. II, p. 50. List of Sheriffs in Berry's Surrey Pedigrees. Records of Bengal Civilians; Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Gent. Mag., 1814, p. 302.

SYKES, Sir Francis. Born about 1730, at Thornhill, Yorkshire, the son of John Sykes. Bengal Writer, 1751. Assistant at Cossimbuzar, 1756. Imprisoned by Siraj-uddaula's forces; escaped. Factor, 1757; again stationed at Cossimbuzar. Reached Clive's army after an exciting ride with Collet (q.v.) and Watts (q.v.), after the last named had completed his negotiations with Mir Jafar, before the hostilities which led to Plassey. Remained in the Service until about 1769. Brought home a great fortune. Second, perhaps, only to Clive as a butt of unpleasant notoriety during the anti-Nabob outburst that culminated in 1773. Nick-named "Squire Matoot"; the Matoot was a supposedly extortionate tax by which Sykes was said to have gained while in India. Purchased Basildon, Berkshire; built a fine, new, mansion on the estate. London residence, 1773: Upper Brook Street. Acted as one of Hastings's attorneys in England. M.P., Shaftesbury, Dorset, 1771, 1780; Wallingford, Berks, 1784, 1790, 1796, 1802. Cr. Baronet, 1781. Married: 1. Catherine, daughter of John Ridley; she died 1768, buried at Calcutta. 2. Elizabeth, daughter of William Monckton, Second Viscount Galway, and sister of Edward Monckton (q.v.). Sir Francis died in 1804.

G.E.C., Complete Baronetage. Text, p. 44, footnote. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Parliamentary History, vol. XVII, col. 655. Lysons' Mag. Brit., Berks, p. 238. Parliamentary Return. India Stock Proprietors List.

THACKERAY, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE. The grandfather of the Novelist. Born 1749, sixteenth and youngest child of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Thackeray, Headmaster of Harrow School. Bengal Writer, 1766. Factor, Fourth in Council at Dacca, 1771. Collector at Sylhet, 1772; while there made money supplying elephants to the Company. Junior Merchant, Third in Council at Dacca, 1774. Returned to England about 1777. Settled at Hadley Green, Middlesex. Had married Amelia Richmond Webb at Calcutta in 1776. Died 1813. His daughter, Emily, married a son of John Shakespear (q.v.).

Hunter's The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves. Writers' Petitions, vol. 6, 1765, no. 15. Records of Bengal Civilians.

VANSITTART, GEORGE. Born 1743, fourth son of Arthur Vansittart, and brother of Arthur Vansittart, M.P., Berks, 1757-1774, and of Henry Vansittart (q.v.). Bengal Writer, 1761. Assistant under the President and Persian Translator, 1764. Factor and Resident at Midnapore, 1767. Junior Merchant, same office, 1769. Senior Merchant, Chief of Council of Revenue at Patna, 1772. Fourteenth in Council at Fort William, 1773. Member, Board of Trade, 1774. Out of the service about 1776. Purchased Bisham Abbey, Berkshire, in 1780. M.P. for the County, 1784-1812. High Steward of the Corporation of Maidenhead. Died January 21, 1825.

Berry's Bucks Pedigrees, see under Bexley. Records of Bengal Civilians. Lysons' Mag. Brit., Berks, p. 243. Powell's Topographical Collections, Berks, Add. Mss., 17457, p. 69. Kerry's History of Bray, p. 137. Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Mss., 29163, fol. 419b.

VANSITTART, HENRY. Born 1732, third son of Arthur Vansittart, and brother of George Vansittart (q.v.). Educated at Winchester. Sent to Madras when very young, because of his dissolute habits. Mastered the Persian language; became friendly with Clive. Visited England in 1751 with a considerable fortune, which he soon dissipated. Returned to India; Member of Council. Governor of Fort William, 1759. Received 58,333 pounds on the setting up of Mir Casim, 1760. Broke with Clive. Returned to England. Pur-

chased Foxley Court, Berkshire, in 1765; also had a house at Greenwich. M.P., Reading, 1768. Director, E. I. Co., 1769. Appointed one of the three Supervisors to reform the Company's affairs in Bengal, lost, 1770, with the others, on the frigate *Aurora,* outward bound to India. Married, 1754, Amelia, daughter of Nicholas Morse, Governor of Madras.

D.N.B. Kerry's History of Bray, p. 103. Lysons' Mag. Brit., Berks, p. 183. Berry's Bucks Pedigrees, see under Bexley.

VERELST, Harry. Born 1733, grandson of Cornelius Verelst, flower painter; brought up by his uncle, Willem Verelst, portrait painter. Bengal Writer, 1749. Factor, Second at Jugdea, 1756. Sub-secretary, 1757. Imprisoned by Siraj-uddaula's forces; released after Plassey. Supervisor of Burdwan, 1765-1766. Second in Council, Supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore, 1767. Governor, 1768. Out of the service in 1770. Purchased Aston Hall, near Sheffield, from the Earl of Holderness. London residence, 1770-1781: 9 St. James's Square (now the Portland Club). The steps he had taken to put down illegal trading in Bengal resulted in ruinous damage suits against him; he was condemned to pay thousands of pounds for false imprisonment, etc. He retired to the Continent and died at Boulogne, October 29, 1785. Married, 1771, Anne, daughter of Josias Wordsworth of Wadworth Place, Yorkshire.

D.N.B. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Records of Bengal Civilians. Allen's History of the County of York, vol. V, p. 233. Hunter's History of Doncaster, II, 165. Dasent's History of St. James's Square, p. 231.

WALSH, John. Born about 1725, son of Joseph Walsh, Governor of Fort St. George, by Elisabeth Maskelyne; Margaret Maskelyne, Clive's wife, was his first cousin. Paymaster to Clive's army, 1756. Sent to treat with Siraj-uddaula, who attempted to detain him; he escaped by a ruse. Received 56,250 pounds on the overthrow of Siraj-uddaula, 1757. Returned to England; settled at Warfield Park, Bracknell, Berkshire, M.P., Worcester, 1761, 1768, 1774. F.R.S., 1770; awarded the Society's Copley Medal in 1774 and again in 1783. Science his main interest. F.S.A., 1771. Unmarried. London residence: Chesterfield Street. Died there, March 9, 1795.

D.N.B. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Parliamentary Return. Public Advertiser, April 27, 1773; December 1, 1774.

WATHERSTON or WATHERSTONE, Dalhousie. Bengal Cadet, 1770. Cornet, Ensign, or Second Lieutenant, 1771. Lieutenant, 1776. Captain, 1781. Resigned, November, 1782. Apparently settled at Manderston, Berwick. M.P., Boston, Lincs, 1784. Inherited a considerable share in the 106,000 pound estate of General Thomas Goddard, H.E.I.C.S., who died in 1783.

Dodwell and Miles, Bengal Army List, pp. 266-267. Parliamentary Return. Warren Hastings Papers, Add. Mss. 29160, fol. 149b-150.

WATTS, Hugh. Bengal Writer, 1753. Assistant, under William Watts (q.v.), at Cossimbuzar, 1756. Imprisoned by Siraj-uddaula's forces. Factor, 1759. Resident at Burdwan, 1760. Junior Merchant and Commissary General, 1762. Senior Merchant, same office, and Nineteenth in Governor's Council, 1763. Tenth in Council, Resident at the Durbar, 1764. Ninth in Council, Paymaster General, 1766. Out of the Service, 1767. Settled at Lovell's Hill, Berkshire; Sheriff, 1776.

Records of Bengal Civilians. Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. List of Sheriffs in Berry's Berks Pedigrees.

WATTS, William. Born about 1720. Arrived in Bengal, 1737. First in Council, Chief at Cossimbuzar, 1756. Treacherously taken prisoner by Siraj-uddaula. Appointed envoy at the Nawab's court after the restoration of the Company to Calcutta. Managed the negotiations which resulted in the defection of Mir Jafar, before the Plassey campaign. Received 117,000 pounds on the accession of Jafar, 1757. Returned to England and settled at Southhill Park, Berkshire. His wife was Francis, daughter of Edward Crook, Governor of Fort St. David. Their son, Edward, married Florentia, daughter of Alexander Wynch (q. v.), Governor of Madras. Their daughter, Amelia, married, 1769, Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool; the second daughter, Sophia, married George Poyntz Ricketts, Governor of Barbadoes.

Watts died in 1764. His widow returned to Calcutta, where her house was, for long, the rendezvous of local society.

Hill's Bengal In 1756-1757. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921. Gent. Mag., 1764, p. 398.

WHITEHILL, John. Born 1735, at Bombay, son of Charles Whitehill, sometime Chief at Anjengo. Educated Birmingham Free

School. Madras Writer, 1752. Senior Merchant and Member of Governor's Council, 1768. Acting Governor of Madras, 1777 and again in 1780; suspended, and dismissed the Service in the latter year. Named in the Bill of Pains and Penalties directed primarily at Sir Thomas Rumbold (q.v.) Said to have died a humble pensioner of Madame de Talleyrand, the former Mrs. Grand, who was reputed to have been his mistress.

Wright and Sclater's Sterne's Eliza. Writers' Petitions, vol. 1, 1752, no. 1. Prinsep's Madras Civilians. Morning Post, March 23, 1784.

WYNCH, Alexander. Made an unpaid assistant at Madras, 1730. Not brought on the list of Civil Servants until 1740. Councillor at Fort St. David, 1744. Deputy Governor, 1758, when the fort yielded to the French. Made a prisoner of war. Afterwards resigned the Service, and went to England. Reappointed, as Chief at Masulipatam, 1768. Governor of Fort St. George, 1773-1775. Retired to England. Rumored, probably falsely, to have been a parliamentary candidate for Malden in 1773. Died in London, 1781. His family had a residence in Berners Street, Oxford Road, in 1773. His daughter, Florentia, married Edward, son of William Watts (q.v.).

Palk Mss., p. 74, note. 4. Public Advertiser, Oct. 4, Dec. 15, 1773.

WRAXALL, Sir Nathaniel William. Born 1751 in Bristol, only son of Nathaniel Wraxall, and grandson of Nathaniel Wraxall, merchant and Sheriff of Bristol. Bombay Writer, 1769. Judge-Advocate and Paymaster of the Forces in the Guzerat and Baroche expeditions, 1771. Factor, at home, 1774; left the Service shortly after. M.P., Hindon, Wilts, 1780; Ludgershall, Wilts, 1784. Afterwards agent to the Nawab of Arcot in the House of Commons. Cr. Baronet, 1813. Died 1831. His "Memoirs" are famous.

D.N.B. Records of Bombay Civilians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CONTEMPORARY PAMPHLETS, PERIODICALS, AND NEWSPAPERS

An Attempt to Pay Off the National Debt by Abolishing the East India Company of Merchants and Other Monopolies, with other Interesting Measures. 1767. [Anonymous.]

The Annual Register.

The Asiatic Annual Register.

The Bath Chronicle. Weekly.

BENFIELD, PAUL: Case of Paul Benfield, Esq., Partner in the House established in London under the Firm of Boyd Benfield and Company, concerning his relative Position with Walter Boyd, Senr., Esq. (Also a Partner in that House) and with the late Paris House of Boyd Ker and Company. Paris. 1803.

A Complete Guide to All Persons Who have Any Trade or Concern with the City of London and Parts adjacent. Printed for J. Osborn, at the Golden Ball in Pater-noster row. [This is a contemporary annual directory; referred to as the London Trade Guide.]

Considerations on a Pamphlet Entitled "Thoughts on our Acquisitions in the East Indies, particularly respecting Bengal." 1772. [Anonymous.]

The European Magazine.

Felix Farley's Bristol Journal. Weekly.

Fox's Martyrs; or a New Book of the Sufferings of the Faithful. 1784. [Anonymous.]

General Evening Post. Thrice weekly; Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

The Gentleman's Magazine.

The Gloucester Journal.

The Historical Register Chronicle.

Jackson's Oxford Journal.

KARR, W. S. SETON, editor: Selections from *Calcutta Gazettes*. Three volumes. Calcutta, 1865.

A Letter To The Proprietors of East India Stock On the Subject of Sending Supervisors with Extraordinary Powers to India. By A Friend to Fair Discussion. 1772. [Anonymous.]

The London Chronicle.
The London Magazine.
The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser.
The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser.
The Morning Post.
The National Mirror, Being a Series of Essays on the Most Important Concerns; But Particularly Those of the East India Company. 1771. [Anonymous.]
Observations On Mr. Burke's Speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill. In an Address to that Gentleman. 1784. [Anonymous.]
Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer.
Pigott, Charles: The Jockey Club, or a Sketch of the Manners of the Age. Second edition. Dublin, 1792. [Published anonymously.]
Price, Joseph: The Saddle Put On the Right Horse; or an Enquiry into the reason why certain persons have been denominated Nabobs . . . with a few reflections on the present state of our Asiatic Affairs. 1783. [Published anonymously; the author, who had been captain of an Indiaman, was in prison for debt.]
The Public Advertiser.
The Racing Calendar.
A Short History of the English Transactions in the East Indias. Cambridge, 1776. [Anonymous.]
The Town and Country Magazine.
The Westminster Magazine.

GENEALOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

Allen, Thomas: A New and Complete History of the County of York. Six volumes. 1830[?].
Baedeker, Karl: London and Its Environs. Eighteenth Revised Edition. 1923.
Beaven, A. B.: The Aldermen of the City of London, Temp. Henry III-1912. Two volumes. 1908-1913.
Berry, William: Pedigrees of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Surrey Families. London. 1837.
Berry, William: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Hants. 1833.
Berry, William: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Kent. 1830.

Berry, William: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Sussex. 1830.

Betham, William: The Baronetage of England. Five volumes. 1801-1805.

Brayley, E. W., Jr.: A Topographical History of Surrey. Revised and edited by E. Walford. 4 volumes. "1899?"

Burke, John: A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland. Four volumes. 1836-1838.

Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland.

Burke's Peerage.

C., G. E. [Cokayne, G. E.]: Complete Baronetage, 1611-1800. Five volumes and Index. Exeter. 1900-1906.

Cartwright, Edmund: The Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber. 1830. [Part II of volume II of Dallaway and Cartwright's History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex.]

Chancellor, E. B.: Historical Richmond. 1885.

Chancellor, E. B.: The History of the Squares of London. 1907.

Clutterbuck, Robert: The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford. Four volumes. 1815-1827.

Cooke, G. A.: Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Oxford. 18—? [One of a series of early nineteenth century road route books.]

Cussans, J. E.: History of Hertfordshire. Three volumes. 1874.

Dallaway, James: A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex. Two volumes. 1815.

Dasent, A. I.: The History of St. James's Square. 1895.

Devon Notes and Queries.

Faulkner, Thomas: The History and Antiquities of Brentford, Ealing and Chiswick. 1845.

Foster, Joseph: Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire. Two volumes. 1874.

Gilbert, Davies: The Parochial History of Cornwall, founded on the Manuscript Histories of Mr. Hals and Mr. Tonkin. Four volumes. 1838.

Harleian Society: Familiae Minorum Gentium. Four volumes. 1894-1896.

Hasted, Edward: The History and Topography of the County of Kent. Four volumes. 1790.

Horsfield, T. W.: The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex. Two volumes. 1835.

Hunter, Joseph: South Yorkshire. The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the County of York. Two volumes. 1831.

Hutchins, John: The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset. Four volumes. 1861-1873.

Kelly's Directory of Berkshire. 1920.

Kerry, Charles: The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Bray in the County of Berks. 1861.

Lipscomb, George: The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham. Four volumes. 1847.

Lysons, Daniel and Samuel: Magna Britannia: being a concise topographical account of the several counties of Great Britain. Six volumes. 1806-1822.

Manning, Owen, and Bray, William: The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey. Three volumes. 1804-1814.

Neale, J. P.: Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Nichols, John: The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester. Four volumes. 1804.

Ormerod, George: The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester. Three volumes. 1819.

Pinnock's County Histories. The History and Topography of Berkshire, with Biographical Sketches, &c., &c. 1819. [A small pamphlet in the form of a catechism in the Reading Public Library.]

Polwhele, Richard: The History of Devonshire. Three volumes bound in one. 1792-1806.

Powell's Topographical Collections. British Museum. Additional Manuscripts.

Shaw, Stebbing: The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire. Two volumes. 1798-1801.

The Victoria History of Bedfordshire.

The Victoria History of Berkshire.

The Victoria History of Hampshire.

The Victoria History of Surrey.

The Victoria History of Worcestershire.

Woodward, B. B., Wilks, T. C., and Lockhart, Charles: General History of Hampshire. Three volumes. 1870.

OFFICIAL RECORDS

Court Minutes. In Manuscript at the India Office.

Dodwell, Edward, and Miles, James Samuel, editors: Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army, 1760-1837.

Personal Records. In Manuscript at the India Office.

Prinsep, C. C., editor: Records of Services of the East India Company's Civil Servants in the Madras Presidency, 1741-1858. London. 1885. [Short reference title: Records of Madras Civilians.]

Records of Bengal Civilians. In Manuscript at the India Office.

Records of Bombay Civilians. In Manuscript at the India Office.

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY EFFORTS, BY OR OF THE NABOBS

Blamire, Susanna: Poetical Works. Collected by Henry Lonsdale, M.D., with a Preface, Memoir and Notes by Patrick Maxwell. Edinburgh. MDCCCXLII. [For *The Nabob.*]

Dow, Alexander: History of Hindostan. 1768.

Dow, Alexander: Sethona, A Tragedy. As It Is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. London, MDCCLXXIV.

Dow, Alexander: Zingis, A Tragedy. As It Is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. MDCCLXIX.

The East India Culprits. A Poem In Imitation of Swift's Legion Club. By An Officer Who Was Present at the Battle of Plassey. 1773. [Anonymous.]

Foote, Samuel: The Nabob.

Irwin, Eyles: Eastern Eclogues.

Irwin, Eyles: An Epistle To The Right Honourable George Lord Pigot.

Irwin, Eyles: St. Thomas's Mount. A Poem Written By A Gentleman In India. Preface dated "Fort St. George, 1st of January, 1773".

Kindersley, Mrs.: Letters From the Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, The Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies. Printed for J. Nourse in the Strand. 1777.

Lewis, M. G.: The East Indian. A Comedy in Five Acts. Second edition. 1800.

Maclaurin, Colin: Poetical and Dramatic Works. Two volumes. Edinburgh, 1812. [For *Influence of the Neighborhood of a Rich Asiatic,* originally published in *The Lounger.*]

The Mogul Tale. Anonymous farce. [See volume XI of *The British Drama.* London, 1872.]

The Nabob or Asiatic Plunderers. A Satyrical Poem. . . . Printed for the Author; and Sold by J. Townsend in London-street. 1773. [Anonymous.]

MEMOIRS AND COLLECTIONS OF PAPERS

Francis Papers. In Manuscript at the India Office.

GRAND, G. F.: The Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident In India. Published by the Calcutta Historical Society; W. K. Firminger, editor. [The original edition was the first English book printed at the Cape of Good Hope.]

The Grenville Papers. Edited by William James Smith. Four volumes. 1852-1853.

Warren Hastings Papers. British Museum. Additional Manuscripts.

The Memoirs of William Hickey. Edited by Alfred Spencer. Four volumes. London, Hurst and Blackett. [An excellent picture of an Eighteenth Century man of the World in London and in India.]

HILL, S. C.: Bengal In 1756-1757. Three volumes. 1905. [An account of the establishment of British dominion in Bengal, followed by a comprehensive selection of illustrative contemporary narratives and papers.]

LAPRADE, W. T., Editor: The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson. 1774-1784. Royal Historical Society, 1922.

Orme Manuscripts. Volume II, part I, of the Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages Belonging To The Library of the India Office. 1916.

Report on the Palk Manuscripts in the Possession of Mrs. Bannatyne of Haldon, Devon. Prepared for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, with the Cooperation of the India Office, by Colonel H. D. Love. 1922.

WALPOLE, HORACE: Letters. Edited by Peter Cunningham. Eight volumes. London, 1858.

WRAXALL, SIR N. W.: Posthumous Memoirs of His Own Time. 1836.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND SPECIALISED SECONDARY SOURCES: ART, THE STAGE, THE TURF, ETC.

BAKER, D. E.: Biographia Dramatica; or a Companion to the Playhouse. Four volumes. 1812.

Black, Robert: The Jockey Club and Its Founders. 1891.

Boswell's Life of Johnson. Two volumes bound in one. Oxford University Press. 1904.

Buckland, C. E.: Dictionary of Indian Biography. 1906.

Busteed, H. E.: Echoes From Old Calcutta. Fourth edition. 1908.

Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in The Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.

Curzon, L. H.: The Blue Ribbon of the Turf. A Chronicle of the Race for the Derby from the victory of Diomed 1780 to that of Sanfoin 1890. 1890.

Dictionary of National Biography. [Referred to as D.N.B.]

Forrest, Sir George: The Life of Lord Clive. Two volumes. 1918.

The General Studbook.

Graves, Algernon: The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904. Eight volumes. London, 1906.

Hunter, Sir W. W.: The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves. 1897.

Johnson, R., and Pick, W.: The Turf Register and Sportsman's and Breeder's Stud Book. Three volumes. York, 1822. [Volumes one and two by Pick; volume three by Johnson.]

Jones, Mary Evelyn Monckton: Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774. 1918.

Love, Colonel, H. D.: Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800. Four volumes. 1913.

Mantzius, Karl: A History of Theatrical Art In Ancient and Modern Times. Six volumes. 1903-1921.

Notes and Queries.

Phillipart's East India Military Calendar; Containing The Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army. By The Editor of the Royal Military Calendar. Two volumes.

Trevelyan, G. O.: The Early History of Charles James Fox. Harper and Brothers.

Wright, Arnold and Sclater, William Lutley: Sterne's Eliza. Some Account of her Life in India: with her letters written between 1757 and 1774. 1922.

Wylly, Colonel H. C.: Life of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B. 1922.

MORE GENERAL SECONDARY SOURCES: HISTORICAL, ECONOMIC, ETC.

ADAMS, BROOKS: The Law of Civilisation and Decay. London, 1895.

DIGBY, WILLIAM: "Prosperous" British India. A Revelation From Official Records. 1901.

DUTT, ROMESH CHUNDER: Economic History of India Under Early British Rule. 1757-1837. Fourth edition. 1917.

HAMILTON, C. J. The Trade Relations Between England and India, 1600-1896. Calcutta. 1919.

HUNT, WILLIAM: The History of England From the Accession of George III to the Close of Pitt's First Administration. 1760-1801. (Volume ten of Hunt and Poole's Political History of England.)

LAPRADE, W. T.: William Pitt and Westminster Elections. Article in *The American Historical Review,* January, 1913.

LECKY, W. E. H.: A History of England In the Eighteenth Century. Eight volumes. 1878-1890.

MILL, JAMES, and WILSON, H. H.: The History of British India. Ten volumes. 1858. The Third Edition, six volumes, 1826, is also referred to.

OLDFIELD, T. H. B.: Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland.

OLDFIELD, T. H. B.: An Entire and Complete History, Political and Personal, of the Boroughs of Great Britain, together with the Cinque Ports.

The Parliamentary History of England From The Earliest Period To The Year 1803. Thirty-six volumes. T. C. Hansard. 1806-1820.

Parliamentary Paper. 1878-1879. Volumes X and XI. Return of the Names of every Member returned to serve in each Parliament from the year 1696 up to 1876. . . . Also Return from so remote a period as it can be obtained up to the year 1696.

RANSOME, CYRIL: An Advanced History of England. Rivington's, London, 1913.

THORNTON, EDWARD: The History of the British Empire in India. Second edition, 1859.

INDEX

Abbey House, seat in Surrey, 39.
Adams, Brooks, 88.
Admiralty, The, 115.
African slave trade magnates, compared with Nabobs, 15, 16.
Albemarle family, 22.
Alefounder, John, 91.
Alexander, James, Earl of Caledon, 141.
Alonzo, a tragedy, 95.
Ambrooke, Devon, 43.
Amyatt, Mr., 10.
Amyatt, James, 115.
Ancaster House, Richmond, 128.
Anglo-Indian ways of life in England, 90.
Animals sent from India, 91.
Anson, Lord, 32.
Antigua, B. W. I., 41, 153.
Anviot (or Auriol?), J. P., 30.
Arcot, Nabob of, his reputed agents in Parliament, 55.
Arthur, Robert, 39.
Arundell, Sussex, 105.
Ascot Races, 132.
Ashburton, Lord, 64.
Ashburton, Devon, 80, 81, 103, 107, 109, 114.
Askeaton, Ireland, 144.
Aston, Mr. Justice, 51.
Aston Hall, seat in Yorkshire, 130.
Aston Park, seat in Oxfordshire, 78, 79, 127.
Atkinson, Richard, 59, 115.
Aubrey, John, 120.
Avonbank, seat in Worcestershire, 130.

Baber, Edward, 30, 31, 44, 131.
Baber, Thomas Draper, 131.
Banians, or native agents of the Company's servants, their misbehavior, 11.
Barham, Joseph Foster, 150.
Baring, Francis, 116.
Barker, Sir Robert, 28, 70, 107, 108, 128, 131.
Barnstaple, Devon, 116.
Barre, Colonel, 58.
Bartlow, seat in Cambridgeshire, 145.
Barwell, Daniel, 132.
Barwell, Edward, 39.
Barwell, James, 117.
Barwell, Mary, 65, 117.
Barwell, Richard, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 38, 39, 59, 63, 64, 71, 72, 82, 91, 96, 108, 110, 111, 113, 117, 129, 131, 141.
Barwell, Richard Jr., 132.
Barwell, Roger, 132.
Barwell, William, 39, 82, 117.
Basildon, seat in Berks, 71, 72, 124.
Basset Down House, seat in Wilts, 130.
Bath, 73, 80.
Bathoe or Bathou, John, 11, 30.
Bathurst, Lord, 41, 50, 51.
Bathurst, Robert, 41, 50 note.
Batson, Edward Buckley, 117, 132.
Batson, James, 117.
Batson, Stanlake, 117, 123, 132.
Battie, William, M. D., 136.
Baugh, F., 30.
Baugh, I. or J., 127, 133.
Becher, Ann, 79.
Becher, John, 117.
Becher, Richard, 10, 79-80, 82, 117, 128, 133, 137.
Bedford, Duke of, 107.
Bedgebury, seat in Kent, 78, 79, 127.
Benfield, Elizabeth, 45 note.
Benfield, Paul, 12, 26, 44, 45, 51, 52, 54, 55, 73, 75-76, 81, 108, 111, 126, 134.
Bengal Club, 61, 82.
Bensley, Thomas, 135.
Bensley, Mrs. Thomas, nee Elizabeth Winter, 135.
Bensley, Sir William, 30, 135.
Bensley, Lady, nee Mary Biscoe, 135.
Bentley, Captain, 89.
Berkshire, "the English Hindostan," 25, 71, 72, 74, 77, 96-97, 104, 106, 114, 123 & seq.
Bertie, Peregrine, 120.
Bindley, John, 105.
Birt, William Matthew, 123.
Bisham Abbey, seat in Berkshire, 124.
Bishop's Castle, Salop, 103, 105, 109, 112, 114.
Blamire, Susanna, 98.
Boddam, Mr., 10.
Boddam, Rawson Hart, 146.
Bodmin, Cornwall, 77.
Boehm, Roger, 120.
Bonomi, architect, 72.
Boscawen, Admiral, 129.

Boston, Lincs, 115.
Boteler, John Palmer, 126.
Botleys, Surrey, 145.
Boughton ("Bouton"), Shugbura, 159.
Boughton, afterwards Boughton-Rouse, afterwards Rouse-Boughton, Sir C. W. B., 30, 44, 82, 109, 110, 112, 114, 127, 130, 159.
Boughton-Rouse, Lady, nee Catherine Pearce, 159.
Boulton, Henry Crabb, 52, 105.
Boyd, Benfield & Co., bankers, 75-76.
Boyd, Walter, 75-76.
Bramble, Ebenezer, 145.
Bramston, John, 144.
Brand, Thomas, 76.
Brickdale, Matthew, 120.
Bridgnorth, Salop, 105, 107.
Brooke, Rev. William, 95.
Brookwood, Hants, 161.
Brown, "Capability" (Lancelot), 72.
Broxbourn, Herts, 137.
Buller, John, 50.
Burdett, John, 10, 135.
Burgh, Walter Hussey, 144.
Burgoyne, Col., 57.
Burke, Edmund, 13, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 111.
Burke William, 55 note.
Burley Mills & Burley Batten, manors in Hants, 125.
Bushbridge, seat in Surrey, 70, 128.
Butler, James, 129.
Byne family, 129.
Byron, Edmund, 121.

Cadogan, Charles Sloane, 120.
Cadogan, Henry, 120.
Cadogan, Lord, 25, 72.
Cadogan, William, 120.
Caillaud, Gen. John, 10, 78, 79, 82, 117, 127, 135.
Calcraft, John, 31, 105.
Caldwell Priory, seat in Bedfordshire, 123.
Call, John, father of Sir John Call, 136.
Call, Mrs. John Sr., nee Jane Mill, 136.
Call, Sir John, 24, 27, 43, 52, 76 & seq., 82, 113, 118, 125, 136.
Call, Lady, nee Philadelphia Battie, 136.
Callington, Cornwall, 77, 107, 113.
Camelford, Cornwall, 109, 116, 143.
Campbell, Alexander, 30, 42, 136.
Cappadunqa, captured Spanish treasure ship, 32.
Carnac, Gen. John, 11, 72, 103, 104, 106, 117, 126.
Carnac, Mrs., 92.
Carnac, Scipio, 117.
Carr of York, architect, 72.
Cartier, John, 78, 79, 127, 137.
Cator, John, 30, 59, 60, 106, 117.
Cator, William, 106, 117, 126.
Cavendish, Lord Charles, 120.
Cavendish, Lord John, 120.
Caversham, seat in Oxfordshire, 25, 43, 71, 72, 124, 127.
Chalmers, John, 156.
Chandler, H., 30.
Chapman, Charles, 65 note, 118.
Chauncy, William Henry, 118.
Cheam, Surrey, 76, 129.
Chelsea Fields, 73.
Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, 44, 45.
Cheney, Richard, 159.
Child, Sir Josiah, 8.
Chiltern Lodge, seat in Berks, 25, 74, 123.
City of London, 113, 116.
Clackmanan, Scotland, 113.
Clarke, Col., 80.
Clayton, Sir Kendrick, 120.
Cleater, James, 122.
Clerk, Robert, M. D., 163.
Clevland, John, 120.
Clive, George, 103, 105, 106, 118.
Clive, Henry, 118.
Clive, Mr. Justice, 103.
Clive, Richard, 103, 104, 105.
Clive, Robert, Lord, 10, 11, 21, 26, 28, 31, 39, 43, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 73, 76, 77, 90, 92, 96, 103, 104, 106, 107, 112, 118, 119, 132, 149.
Clive, Rev. Robert, 118.
Clive, William, 105, 118.
Clyst St. Mary, seat in Devon, 125.
Codrington, Elizabeth, 120.
Codrington, Sir William, 120.
Colebrooke, Sir George, 43, 105.
Collet family, 40.
Collet, Matthew, 10, 40, 127, 138.
Collet, Thomas, 122.
Colville, Robert, 30.
Commissaries compared with Nabobs, 15, 16, 17, 31.
Company's servants, pay of, 9 note.
Company's service, appointments to and fate of appointees, 1762-1784, table by Scott, 29-30.
Company's service, appointments to Writerships, 9.
Cooke, John, 79.
Coote, Sir Eyre, 104, 106, 107, 118, 138.

Copley Medal of Royal Society, 77.
Cornish, Admiral Sir Samuel, 52.
Cornwallis, Lord, 13, 38.
Coryton, Mr., 107.
Cornewall, Frederick, 105.
Cornwall, Charles Wolfran, 120.
Cotsford, Edward, 114, 118, 125, 138.
Cotsford, Mary, 118.
Cotsford, William, 138.
Covent Garden, 73 note.
Coxe, Charles Hippisley, 30, 43, 139.
Coxe, John Hippisley, 139.
Coxe, Richard Hippisley, 43.
Cricklade, Wilts, 51, 104, 107, 108, 109, 151.
Crook, Edward, 167.
Crown & Anchor Tavern, 82.
Curry, 78, 90.

Dallas, George, 41.
Dallas, Sir Robert, 41.
Dalrymple, Alexander, 139.
Dance, Nathaniel, 92.
Daniell, Thomas, 91.
Daniell, William, 91.
Darell, Harry Verelst, 139-140.
Darell, Mrs. Harry Verelst, nee Amelia Becher, 140.
Darell, Major John, 140.
Darell, Lionel Sr., 139.
Darell, Mrs. Lionel Sr., nee Honoria Hardwicke, 139.
Darell, Sir Lionel, 30, 41, 59, 81, 114, 128, 139.
Darell, Lady, nee Isabella Tullie, 41, 139.
Darker, Mr., 104.
Darlington, Lord, 132.
Dean Hunt, 81.
Deering, Sir Edward, 116.
Delaval, Sir Francis, 43.
Dempster, Charles, 121.
Dempster, George, 121.
Derby, The, 74.
Devaynes, William, 116, 131.
Devonshire, Dowager Duchess of, 120.
Diamonds, Nabobs fondness for, 89, 90.
Dickinson, Francis, 119.
Digby, William, 88.
Dod, John, 105.
Dolben, Sir William, 22.
Dorrien, John, 81.
Dover, Cinque Ports, 115.
Dow, Col. Alexander, 93-94, 140.
Downton, Wilts, 143.
Downton Hall, seat in Shropshire, 127.
Drake, Governor Roger, 10, 40, 140.
Drake, Roger, uncle of the above, 40.
Draper, Eliza, 147.
Draper, Gen. Sir William, 22.
Drummond, Mr., 108.
Drury Lane Theatre, 42, 93, 95.
Du Pre, Josias, 40, 118, 125, 141.
Ducarel, Adrien Colte, 41.
Ducarel, Andrew Colte, 140.
Ducarel, Gerard Gustavus, 30, 40, 141.
Dundas, Henry, 55, 59.
Dundas, Sir Lawrence, 121.
Dundas, Lawrence (same as the above?), 31.
Dundas, Thomas, 121.
Dunning, John, 121.
Durand, John, 110, 113, 121, 122.

Ealing, Middlesex, 135.
East Grinstead, Sussex, 163.
East Indian, The, by M. G. Lewis, 98.
Eastbourne, 32, 42.
Edgecumbe, Lord, 62.
Edmonstone, Archibald, 121.
Edmonstone, Neil Benjamin, 121.
Eliot, Mr., 62.
Eliot, Sir Gilbert, 121.
Eliot, Gilbert, 121.
Eliot, Captain Hugh, 121.
Ellenborough, Earl of, 41.
Ellis, John, 33.
Eltham, Kent, 71, 127.
Englefield, Sir Henry Charles, 123.
Evans, Mr., Jamaica merchant, 45 note.
Evesham, Worcestershire, 109, 114.
Exmouth, Devon, 141.

Fane, Lord, 72.
Farington, George, 91.
Farrer, James, 141.
Farrer, Thomas, 81, 109, 110, 112, 115, 141.
Fawley, Great & Little, manors in Berks, 124.
Fetherstonhaugh, Sir Matthew, 121.
Fetherstonhaugh, Dame Sarah, 121.
Fielding, Lady Diana, 42.
Fleetwood, Charles Sr., 42.
Fleetwood, Charles, 30, 42, 43, 142.
Fleetwood, Mrs. Charles, nee Simpson, 142.
Fletcher, Sir Henry, 110, 113, 115, 118.
Fletcher, Sir Robert, 51, 91, 104, 106, 142.
Fletcher, Lady, nee Ann Pybus, 142.
Foote, Samuel, 8, 13, 16, 37, 74, 78, 96 & seq.
Fortrose, Scotland, 105.
Fortunes of the Nabobs, methods by which they were made, 8 & seq.

Fortunes of the Nabobs, their amounts, 26 & seq.
Fowey, Cornwall, 115.
Fox, Charles James, 13, 54, 58, 59, 63, 74, 107, 112, 113.
Fox, Henry, 31.
Fox's India Bill, the American Revolution invoked against, 60 & seq.
Fox's India Bill, Company's appeal to the public against, 60.
Fox's India Bill & General Election of 1784, 59 & seq.
Foxley, manor in Berks, 124.
Francis, II, Emperor, 76.
Francis, Philip, 23, 38, 65, 112, 115, 141.
Frankland, Henry, 39.
Frankland, Admiral Sir Thomas, 39, 105.
Frankland, Sir William, 39.
Frankland, William, 10, 39, 71, 77 & seq., 104, 106, 129, 143.
Franklin, Benjamin, 77.
Freeman, Richard, 30.
Fydell, J., 30.

Galway, Viscount, 44.
Garden, Alexander, 121.
Garrick, David, 94, 122.
Gibbons, Grinling, 72.
Gloucester City, 110, 115.
Goddard, Edward, 147.
Goddard, Gen. Thomas, 147.
Golding, Edward, 30, 123, 143.
Golightly, Charlot, 133.
Goring, Charles, 30, 44, 118, 129, 130, 143.
Goring, Sir Harry, 44.
Gosling, Clive, & Gosling, bankers, 118.
Gosling, Robert, 118.
Graham, George, 110, 113.
Grampound, Cornwall, 116.
Grand, Mrs. G. F., (Madame de Talleyrand), 168.
Grant, James, 76.
Grant, John, 115.
Grant, Major, 10.
Gray, Dr. George Sr., 40, 144.
Gray, George Jr., 10, 40, 144.
Gregory, Robert, 64, 65, 110, 112, 113.
Greenhill Grove, seat at Chipping Barnet, Herts, 76, 126.
Grenville, George, 58.
Griffith, Richard, 30, 42, 144.
Griffith, Sir Richard John, 42, 144.
Grosvenor Square, 75, 81, 126.
Grove House, Brompton, 151.
Hadley Green, Middlesex, 79.
Haldon, Barons, 156.
Haldon House, seat in Devon, 71, 80, 125, 149.
Hall Grove, seat in Surrey, 129.
Hallowes, Brabazon, 131.
Hamilton, C. J., 88.
Hamsterley, Durham, 75.
Hannay, Sir Samuel, 60, 83, 116.
Hardwicke, Humphrey, 41, 139.
Harley St., 74, 82, 92, 123.
Harrow School, 42, 92.
Hartley, Mr., 114.
Harwood, Sir Busick, 145.
Harwood, John, 145.
Harwood, William, 30, 145.
Hastings, Warren, 11, 13, 17, 21, 26 note, 27, 28, 29, 38, 41, 50, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 89. 90, 92, 105, 111, 112, 114, 131, 141.
Hastings, Mrs., 26, 65, 89.
Hatchlands, seat in Surrey, 129.
Hatley, Parker, 118.
Havannah, 22, 31.
Hawke, Martin Bladen, 121.
Hay, William, 33.
Hedon, York, 110, 114.
Helston, Cornwall, 108.
Henchman, Charlotte, 145.
Henchman, Humphrey, 42.
Henchman, Thomas, 30, 42, 145.
Henckell, James, 122.
Hermione, captured prize ship, 32.
Hickey, Thomas, 91.
Hickey, William, 19, 80, 89, 91.
Higginson, Alexander, 30.
Hindon, Wilts, 51, 107, 109, 114.
Hockenhull, seat in Cheshire, 124.
Hodges, William, 91.
Hogarth, John, 118.
Hogarth, J. or S., 30, 43.
Hogarth, William, 92.
Holdsworth, A., 77.
Holt, Rowland, 121.
Holwell, Elizabeth, 40.
Holwell, John, grandfather of J. Z. Holwell, 145.
Holwell, John Zephaniah, 10, 40, 91, 123, 135, 145, 157.
Honiton, Devon, 110.
Hook House, seat in Hants, 70, 126.
Hopkins, Benjamin, 121.
Hornby, William, 70, 91, 126, 146.
Hornby, Mrs. William, nee Anne Atkin, 146.
Horsesheath Lodge, seat in Cambridgeshire, 132.
Horsham, Sussex, 151.

Horsted Place, seat in Sussex, 130.
Hotham, Sir Richard, 63, 110, 113, 118.
Humphry, Ozias, 91.
Hunter, John, 115.
Hunter, Sir W. W., 79, 80.
Hussey, William, 121.

Ilchester, Somerset, 110, 116.
Impey, Sir Elijah, 56.
Ince, seat in Cheshire, 125.
Industrial Revolution, influence of Indian wealth on, 88 & seq.
Inverness Borough, Scotland, 107, 109.
Ironside, Col. Gilbert, 91.
Irwin, Eyles, 19, 92, 94-95, 147.
Irwin, Mrs. Eyles, nee Honor Brooke, 95.
Irwin, Captain James, 94.
Irwin, Captain James Brooke, 95.
Irwin & Duncan, outfitters, Haymarket, 82.

James, Sir William, 71, 82, 91, 107, 108, 110, 111, 118, 127, 147.
James, Lady, nee Anne Goddard, 147.
Jenkinson, Charles, afterwards Lord Liverpool, 32, 37.
Jerusalem Coffee House, 82.
Jockey Club, 74.
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 31 note, 93.
Johnstone, Gideon, 11, 30, 148.
Johnstone, George, 57, 110, 112, 121.
Johnstone, Sir James, 148.
Johnstone, John, 10, 57, 148.
Jones, Robert, Director, E. I. Co., 26, 43, 119.

Kelly, Mr., 52, 53.
Kelsall, John, 118, 163.
Kelsall, Richard, 118.
Kelsall, Thomas, 118.
Kenyon, Attorney-General, 114.
Kettle, Tilly, 70, 91.
Kilpatrick, Major, 10.
Kinrosshire, Scotland, 110, 113.
Kirkman, John, 40, 118.
Kirkman, Thomas, 40, 118.

Ladbroke, Sir Robert, 121.
Ladbroke, Robert Jr., 121.
Landhunger of Nabobs, 70.
Lascelles family, 44.
Lascelles, Daniel, 121.
Lascelles, Peter, 121.
Law family, 41.
Law, Edmund, Bishop of Carlisle, 41.
Law, Edward, Lord Ellenborough, 41.
Law, Ewan or Evan, 30, 41, 57, 118, 119, 130, 148, 160.
Law, Henrietta Markham, 41.
Law, Joanna, 41.
Law, Mary, 41.
Law, Stephen, 82, 118, 119, 137.
Law, Rev. John, 119.
Lawrence, Charles, 119.
Lawrence, John, 149.
Lawrence, Gen. Stringer, 71, 81, 91-92, 149.
Lawrence Castle, 71.
Le Mesurier, Paul, 63, 116.
Leases Hall, seat in Yorkshire, 130.
Leicester City, 104.
Leominster, Hereford, 103, 104, 115.
Lethieullier, Benjamin, 121.
Lewell House, Chudleigh, Devon, 136.
Lewes, Sir Watkin, 53, 54.
Lewis, M. G., 98.
Leycester, Ralph, 10, 42, 119, 125, 129, 149.
Leycester, Mrs. Ralph, nee Charlotte Lushington, 149.
Lilling Hall, seat in Yorkshire, 158.
Lion, presented to the Tower by William Hornby, 91.
List of those who shared in the spoils on the establishment of British dominion in Bengal, 10-11.
Literature, influence of the Nabobs on and in, 92 & seq.
Livius, George, 30, 41, 123, 150.
Livius, Mrs. George, nee Mary Barham, 150.
Livius, Peter Lewis, 41.
London haunts associated with East Indians, 82.
London Tavern, 73, 81.
Long, Beeston, 122.
Lostwithiel, Cornwall, 110.
Lovell's Hill, Lovelhill, or Lovel Farm, seat in Berks, 124.
Ludgershall, Wilts, 115.
Lushington family, 42
Lushington, Henry, 10, 33, 42, 79, 119.
Lushington, Henry, D. D., father of the above, 119.
Lushington, James Stephen, 42.
Lushington, Sir Stephen, 42, 110, 113, 119.
Lushington, William, 30, 119.

Macartney, Lord, 115.
MacGuire or McGwire, William, 10, 119, 127, 151.
Mackenzie, Henry, 90.

Mackett, Captain William, 40.
Mackett or Macket, William, 10, 40, 150.
Maclaurin, Colin, 96.
Macleane, Lauchlan, 105, 119, 150.
Macleod, Alexander, 151.
Macpherson, James, 83, 109, 111, 112, 116.
Macpherson, John, 51, 107, 109, 151.
Macpherson, Rev. John, 151.
Mackrabie, A., Brother-in-law of Philip Francis, 23, 27.
Mackreth, Robert, 39.
Mackworth, Herbert, 121.
Madeira wine, Nabobs fondness for, 78, 90.
Maiden Erlegh or Erleigh, seat in Berks, 123.
Maidenhead, Berks, 124.
Malmesbury, Wilts, 134.
Manilla, 22.
Manningham, (Charles?), 10, 119.
Mansfield, Lord, 51, 65.
Marine Society, 81.
Markham, George, 119.
Markham, William, Archbishop of York, 41, 57, 119.
Markham, William, son of the above, 41, 57, 119.
Marlborough, 5th Duke of, 123.
Marlow, Bucks, 108.
Marriott, Rev. Randolph, 42.
Marriott, Randolph, son of the above, 42, 130, 152.
Marriott, Mrs. Randolph, nee Elizabeth Wilson, 152.
Marriott, William, 42, 130, 152.
Marriott, Mrs. William, nee Jane Capper, 152.
Marriott, Gen. Thomas, 152.
Marsac or Marsack, Charles, 25, 26, 43, 71, 72, 127, 134, 153.
Marsac, Mrs. Charles, nee Charlotte Becher, 134.
Martin, Sir Henry, 153.
Martin, Cornet Henry Yorke, 153.
Martin, Matthew, 41.
Martin, Samuel, 41, 153.
Martin, William Byam, 30, 41, 72, 123, 153.
Martinique, 23.
Maskelyne, Edmund, 39, 118, 130, 153.
Maskelyne, Mrs. Edmund Sr., nee Elizabeth Booth, 153.
Maskelyne, Elizabeth, 39.
Maskelyne, Margaret, 39.
Maskelyne, Nevil, 77.
Maskelyne, William, 39.
Masquerier, J. J., 92.
Matthews, Gen., 20.
Matthews, Mr., Alderman of Shaftesbury, Dorset, 52.
Matoot, nickname of Sir Francis Sykes, 59.
Mauger, Joshua, 107.
Mawbey, John, 121.
Mawbey, Sir Joseph, 121.
Mawbey, Sir Joseph, 2nd Baronet, 145.
Medmenham, 92.
Middleton, Hastings Nathaniel, 154.
Middleton, Mrs. Hastings Nathaniel, nee Emilia Purling, 154.
Middleton, Nathaniel, 82, 126, 154.
Middleton, Mrs. Nathaniel, nee Anne Frances Morse, 154.
Middleton, Samuel, 10.
Midhurst, Sussex, 114.
Milborne Port, Somerset, 110.
Mill, Sir John Hoby, 124.
Millicent, seat in Kildare, Ireland, 144.
Mitcham Grove, house in Surrey, 58.
Mite, Sir Matthew, 74, 96 & seq.
Mitford, William, 120.
Mixbury, Oxfordshire, 132.
Mogul Tale, anonymous farce, 20.
Monckton, Claude, 44, 154.
Monckton, Hon. Edward, 44, 62, 105, 108, 110, 112, 114, 154, 157.
Monckton, Hon. Mrs. Edward, nee Sophia, illegitimate daughter of Lord Pigot, 44, 154.
Monckton, Gen. Robert, 23.
Montague, Anthony, Viscount, 77.
Montague, Lord (the same?), 114.
Montgomery (town), Wales, 103, 105.
Moore, Peter, 80.
More, Hannah, 149.
Morse, Nicholas, 44, 166.
Mortimer, H. W., 52.
Mullins, William, 160.
Munro, Sir Hector, 10, 92, 105, 107, 109, 111, 154.
Muntham, seat in Sussex, 71, 77, 128.

Nabob, origin of word, 7-8; definition of, 8; period of most significant usage, 113.
Nabob, name of racehorses, 74 and note.
Nabob, The, by Susanna Blamire, 98-99.
Nabob, The, by Samuel Foote, 8, 37, 96 & seq.
Nabob, The, or Asiatic Plunderers, anonymous verses, 18-19.
Nabobs active as country gentlemen, 70 & seq, 78 & seq.

Nabobs in commerce and science, 75 & seq.
Nabobs conspicuous in dissipations of the town, 73.
Nabobs, envy of, 20-21.
Nabobs, extraction of: Anglo-Indian, 38; middle class, 40; Anglo-Portuguese, 41; Legal, 41; Literary & theatrical, 42; impoverished gentry, 43; illegitimate, 43; ruling class, 43.
Nabobs, their bad manners, 23 & seq.
Nabobs, unpopularity of, 17 & seq.
"Nabob-hunting," 54, 55.
New Romney, Cinque Ports, 115, 116.
New Shoreham, Sussex, 51, 105; its Christian Club, 52, 96.
Newcome, Col., 80, 98.
Newton, Andrew, 27.
Newtown, Isle of Wight, 148.
Norris St. Coffee House, Haymarket, 90.
North, Lord, 37, 59, 63, 65, 74, 106, 112.

Oaks, The, 74.
Ode Inscribed to the Conquerors of the East, by Colin Maclaurin, 96.
Oliver, Richard, 122.
Ongley, Robert Henry, 122.
Orford, Lord, 77, 103, 107.
Orme, Alexander, 92.
Orme, Robert, 75, 92, 93, 155.
Ossory, Countess of, 20.
Oxford University, 74, 79.

Painters who went to India, 91.
Palk, Sir Robert, 12, 40, 43, 44, 71, 80, 81, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 119, 125, 149, 156.
Palk, Lady, nee Anne Vansittart, 156.
Palk, Walter, 156.
Palmer, Mr., 104.
Palmer, William, 121.
Park Place Farm or Park Farm Place, seat in Kent, 71, 127.
Parliament, "Bengal Squad" in, 116.
Parliament, difficulties of the Nabobs in, 54 & seq.
Parliament, division of East India interest between Coalition and Pitt, prior to General Election of 1784, 111 & seq.
Parliament, eagerness of Nabobs for a seat in, 49.
Parliamentary investigations against Clive and lesser Nabobs, 1772-1773, 57 & seq.
Parliaments of 1780 & 1784, numbers & party affiliations of Nabobs in, 61 & seq.
Parliaments, votes of Nabobs in, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110.
Parry, Edward, 30, 156.
Parry, Robert, 156.
Patshull, seat in Staffs, 72, 128.
Pattle, Thomas, 30, 81, 156.
Pattle, Captain Thomas, father of the above, 156.
Peach, Miss, 78.
Peach, Samuel, 78.
Pearce, William, 159.
Pearkes, Mr., 10.
Peel, Robert, 125.
Penryn, Cornwall, 106.
Peterborough House, Fulham, 125.
Philanthropic activities of Nabobs, 81.
Pierpont Lodge, seat in Surrey, 129.
Pigot, George, (afterwards Sir George, afterwards Lord Pigot), 12, 72, 82, 90, 92, 94, 103, 105, 106, 119, 128, 134, 139, 157.
Pigot, Hugh, 106, 119.
Pigot, Richard, 157.
Pigot, Mrs. Richard, nee Frances Goode, 157.
Pigot, Robert, 106, 119.
Pigou, Frederick, 119, 122.
Pigou, Frederick Jr., 119.
Pitt, Thomas, 8 & note.
Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 8 note, 21, 49.
Pitt, William, the younger, 27, 59, 61, 62, 63, 75, 111, 113, 114, 115.
Playdell or Pleydell, Charles Stafford, 10, 40, 157.
Playdell, Mrs. Charles Stafford, nee Elizabeth Holwell, 40.
Playdell, Edmund Morton, 40.
Plumber (?), man who melted down Scott's gold, 89.
Plumer, Hall, 41, 158.
Plumer, Thomas, 41.
Plumer, Mrs. Thomas, nee Anne Thompson, 158.
Plumer, Sir Thomas, 41.
Plumer, William, 122.
Plympton Earl, Devon, 143.
Pocock or Pococke, Sir George, 22.
Pontefract, Yorkshire, 105.
Poole, Dorset, 107.
Portland Club, 82.
Portraits of Nabobs by well-known painters, 91-92.
Poulett, Hon. Ann, 122.
Powell, painter, 92.
Praed, Mr., 113.

Praed, William Mackworth, (the same?), 124.
Pre-Nabob Anglo-Indian class, 38 & seq.
Preston, Robert, 115.
Prevost, Gen., 76.
Price, Chase, 103.
Price, Joseph, 8 note, 31, 78, 93, 170.
Pulteney, Mr., 64.
Purling, Charles, 154.
Purling, John, 81, 110, 113, 115, 119.
Pybus's, Call, Grant, & Co., bankers, 76.
Pybus, Dorset & Co., bankers, 76.
Pybus, Captain Bryan, 158.
Pybus, Charles Small, 158.
Pybus, John, 76, 119, 126, 129, 158.
Pybus, Mrs. John, nee Martha Small, 158.
Pye, Mr., 114.
Pye, Charles, 119.
Pye, Captain William, 119.
Pye, William, 119.

Queen Square, 82.

Rawlinson, William, 119.
Ray, Miss, 43.
Ray, Mary, 43 note, 120.
Ray, Richard, 43 note, 119, 120.
Ray, Robert, 43.
Ray, William, 119.
Reading, Berks, 105.
Revely, Henry, 120.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 91.
Ricketts, George Poyntz, 167.
Ricketts, Isabella, 132.
Rigby, Richard, 56, 57, 122.
Robinson, John, 59, 63, 111.
Rochester, Kent, 110, 112, 115.
Rockingham, Marquis of, 122.
Rockingham party in House of Commons, 59.
Romney, 92.
Rooksnest or Rook's nest, seat in Surrey, 79, 80, 128.
Rosaletta, Gen. R. Smith's brown mare, 74.
Rotten boroughs, described, 50.
Rotten boroughs, represented by Nabobs, 51.
Rous, T. B., 52, 53, 54, 105, 110, 112, 113, 122.
Rouse-Lench, seat in Worcestershire, 130.
Rowdell, seat in Sussex, 129.
Royal Irish Academy, 95.
Rudge, Mr., 109.
Rumbold, Frances, 57.
Rumbold, Sir Thomas, 26, 39, 41, 52, 54, 55, 56, 72, 73, 81, 92, 96, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 120, 126, 159.
Rumbold, Lady, nee Frances Berriman, 159.
Rumbold, William, father of Sir Thomas, 39.
Rumbold, William Richard, 109, 111, 112.
Rushout, Sir John, 109.

Sage, Isaac, 30, 160.
Sage, John, 160.
St. Ives, Cornwall, 113.
St. James's Square, 82, 129, 130.
St. John, Henry, 121.
Saltash, Cornwall, 107.
Sandford, Captain Edward, 43.
Sandwich, Lord, 43, 119.
Saunders, Admiral Sir Charles, 122.
Sawyer, Captain, R. N., 32.
Scawen, John, 41, 50.
Scott, Edward, 43, 160-161.
Scott, Major John, 20, 24, 26 note, 27, 28, 29 note, 31, 38, 43, 50, 51, 61, 62; his character, 63 & seq; his expenses for Hastings, 65; 73, 78, 89, 92, 105, 111, 112, 114, 115, 125, 131, 141, 160.
Scrafton, Luke, 10, 81.
Seaford, Cinque Ports, 110.
Selwyn, George, 115.
Senior, Ascanius William, 10, 120, 129, 161.
Servants, native Indian, 90-91.
Severndroog Castle, 71.
Shaftesbury, Dorset, 51, 52, 105, 109, 134.
Shakespear, John Sr., 40, 120.
Shakespear, John, 30, 40, 73, 120, 161.
Shakespear, John Talbot, 161.
Shakespear, Mrs. John Talbot, nee Emily Thackeray, 161.
Shakespear, Sir Richmond, 161.
Shamblehurst, Hants, 126.
Shaw, George Bernard, 20.
Sheridan, R. B., 61, 108, 114.
Shooter's Hill, Woolwich Common, 71.
Shore, John, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, 28.
Siddons, Mrs., 65.
Shrewsbury, Salop, 103-104.
Simpson, Captain John, 142.
Simpson, John Finch, 141.
Small, Charles, 158.
Smart, John, 91.
Smart, Jonathan, 143.
Smith, Charles, 90, 161.

Smith, Mrs. Charles, 1st & 2nd, nee respectively Elizabeth Carvalho & Frances Law, 162.
Smith, Culling (?), 10.
Smith, Edward, 30.
Smith, John, Director of and Solicitor to E. I. Co., 116.
Smith, John Mansell, son of Gen. Richard Smith, 109, 110, 112.
Smith, Joseph Sr., 162.
Smith, Gen. Joseph, 78, 162.
Smith, Nathaniel, 115.
Smith, Gen. Richard, 25, 27, 28, 45, 51, 54, 64, 73 & seq, 82, 92, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 120, 123, 138, 162.
Smith, Samuel Jr., 110, 111, 112, 113, 116.
Somerford Hall, seat in Staffs, 128.
Sorlie's Perfumery Warehouse, Air St., 90.
South Hill, seat in Berks, 124.
South Sea Bubble, 15.
South Sea Co., 41.
Southampton, 115, 135; Polygon in, 72, 126.
Southwark, 63, 110, 116.
Speke, Captain Henry, R. N., 150.
Spencer, John, 10, 163.
Stafford Borough, 61, 108, 114.
Stanley, Hans, 32, 122.
Stanstead, seat in Sussex, 71, 72, 129.
Stephenson, Captain Edward, 78.
Sterne, Laurence, 147.
Steward, Gabriel, 109.
Stewart, Hon. Keith, 122.
Stoke, seat in Surrey, 124.
Stothard, Thomas, 92.
Strachey, Henry, 57, 58, 80, 81, 82, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 112, 114, 118, 128, 163.
Stratton, George, 39, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 127, 163.
Stratton, Mrs. George, nee Miss Light, 163.
Stratton, John, 39.
Stuart, Charles, 59.
Stuart, Frederick, 30.
Sturt, Humphrey, 122.
Sturt, Humphrey Ashley, 44.
Sturt, Thomas Lenox Napier, 44.
Stubbs, George, 92.
Suicides, among the Nabobs, 73 note.
Sulivan or Sullivan, Lawrence, 56, 57, 81, 82, 131.
Sumner, William Brightwell, 10, 120, 129, 164.
Sunninghill Park, seat in Berks, 131.
Sutton Court, seat in Somerset, 128.
Sykes, Sir Francis, 44, 52, 54, 59, 65, 71, 72, 81, 92, 105, 107, 109, 111, 114, 120, 124, 164.
Sykes, Lady, nee Elizabeth Monckton, 44.
Sykes, John, 44 note, 120.

Taylor, Peter, 31.
Tew Park, seat in Oxfordshire, 127.
Thackeray, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 42.
Thackeray or Thackrey, W. M., grandfather of the Novelist, 30, 42, 43, 79, 80, 165.
Thirsk or Thirkleby, Yorkshire, 39, 104, 158.
Thornhill, Yorkshire, 44.
Thurlow, Lord, 58, 64.
Tooke, Peter, 42
Tooth powder & tooth brushes from India, 91.
Town & Country Magazine, Tete-a-Tetes in, 92.
Toft Hall, seat in Cheshire, 125.
Tollemache, Hon. Wilbraham, 122.
Town houses of the Nabobs, 81-82.
Townhill, seat in Hants, 126.
Townson, John, 110, 111, 112.
Treves, Peregrine, 42.
Tucker, Josiah, 60.
Tullie, Timothy, 41, 82.
Tunbridge Wells, 89.
Turf, The, Nabobs active on, 74, 81.
Twysden or Burrs Farm, Kent, 78.

Updowne Place, seat in Kent, 127.
Upper Garminton, Kent, 127.

Valons or Hill Park, seat in Kent, 127.
Van Neck, Sir Joshua, 122.
Van Neck, Joshua, 122.
Vansittart, Arthur, 44, 104, 106, 120.
Vansittart, George, 11, 27, 44, 74, 79, 104, 114, 124, 156, 165.
Vansittart, Henry, 10, 44, 81, 91, 92, 94, 104, 105, 106, 120, 124, 156, 165.
Vansittart, Mrs. Henry, nee Amelia Morse, 166.
Vansittart, Nicholas, 1st Baron Bexley, 44.
Vansittart, Dr. Robert, 79.
Vauxhall, 73.
Verelst, Cornelius, 166.
Verelst, Harry, 81, 82, 130, 166.
Verelst, Mrs. Harry, nee Anne Wordsworth, 92, 166.
Verelst, Willem, 166.
Vernon, Hon. Richard, 122.
Voltaire, 146.
Volunteers, 1st Loyal East India, 139.

Wallingford, Berks, 103, 106, 107, 114.
Walpole, Mr., M. P., 32.
Walpole, Horace, 7, 13, 20, 49.
Walpole, Hon. Richard, 122.
Walpole, Hon. Thomas, 122.
Walsh, John, 10, 39, 54, 77, 82, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 118, 124, 166.
Walsh, Joseph, 39.
Wareham, Dorset, 75, 105, 109, 115.
Warfield Park, seat in Berks, 77, 124.
Waring, Richard Hill, 125.
Watherston or Watherstone, Dalhousie, 28, 115, 167.
Watts, Edward, 167.
Watts, Mrs. Edward, nee Florentia Wynch, 167.
Watts, Hugh, 120, 124, 167.
Watts, William, 10, 124, 132.
Webb, John, 110, 113, 115.
Webb, Philip Carteret, 128.
Webber, William, 71.
Wedderburn, Alexander, 41, 58, 105, 107.
Wedderburne, Ensign, 58 note.
Wedderburne, Gen., 58 note.
Wedgwood, Josiah, 91.
Wendover, Bucks, 109.
West Indian magnates compared with Nabobs, 15, 16.
West Looe, Cornwall, 50, 107, 108, 114.
West Park, seat in Hants, 126.
Weymouth & Melcombe Regis, Dorset, 109, 110, 114, 115.
Wheler, Edward, 150.
White's Club, 39.
White Knights, seat in Berks, 72, 123.
Whiteford, seat in Cornwall, 76, 77, 125.
Whitehill, Charles, 40.
Whitehill, John, 40, 167.
Whitworth, Richard, 108.
Wilkes, John, 43; his illegitimate son, Mr. Smith, 43.
Wilkinson, Jacob, 110, 113.
Wilmot, Sir John Eardley, 41.
Wilmot, Robert, 41.
Williams, John, 107.
Williams, Miss, 65.
Wilson, Andrew, M. D., 44 note.
Wilson, Right Rev. Christopher, 152.
Wilson, Jeannette, 44 note.
Wilton Park, seat in Bucks, 125.
Winchilsea, Cinque Ports, 132.
Winkfield or Wingfield Place, seat in Berks, 123, 132.
Winslade House, seat in Devon, 138.
Winter, William, 135.
Woodfall, Henry Sampson, 122.
Woodhall Park, seat in Herts, 72, 75, 126.
Worcester, (city), 52, 53, 54, 77, 103, 105, 107, 113, 116.
Wordsworth, Samuel, 118.
Worton, Middlesex, 136.
Wraxall, Sir N. W., 15, 52, 55, 56, 59, 109, 111, 115, 168.
Wright, Blastus Godley, 30.
Writership, advertisement offering £1000 for, 22 & note.
Wyatt, James, 72.
Wynch, Alexander, 168.
Wynn, Lt.-Col. Glynn, 122.

Ximenes, Sir Morris, 139.

Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 109.
Yarmouth, Countess of, 37.
Yates, Edmund, 125.
York, Duke of, 43.
Yorke, Mr., 10.

Zoffany, the painter, 91.